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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES, FRENCH SCIENTISTS PROTEST SAKHAROV PERSECUTION

OW261520 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 26 Feb 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, February 26 (XINHUA)--U.S. and French scientists have taken measures protesting against the Soviet authorities' persecution of Soviet scientist Andrey D. Sakharov, according to reports received here.

The Council of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States announced in Washington yesterday that it had decided to suspend all bilateral symposia, seminars and workshops between the U.S. Academy and the Soviet Academy of Sciences for the next six months.

A cable has been sent by the U.S. academy to the president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences informing him of the council's decision.

The U.S. academy also informed its Soviet counterpart that a joint symposium of U.S. and U.S.S.R. physicists on laser-matter interactions scheduled for early March at the University of Arizona is to be deterred and three other meetings planned for the next six months will also be affected.

The decision taken by the U.S. Academy of Sciences was in response to its "deep concerns with recent events, in particular, actions by the Soviet Government" with respect to Sakharov, the American scientific body said.

In Paris, some French scientists announced recently that they would no longer take part in scientific cooperation activities between the French and the Soviet government.

In a letter to the French Foreign Ministry, the Industrial Ministry and the Secretariat of State in Charge of Research, 72 scientists said: "We can no longer accept any scientific and technical mission in the Soviet Union, nor take part in any scientific collaboration between the French and the Soviet governments." They also demanded "reconsideration of the conditions for the scientific collaboration between the French Atomic Energy Commission and the Soviet State Utilization of Atomic Energy Committee."

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OPPOSITION FORCES IN EL SALVADOR SEIZE PANAMA EMBASSY

OW141702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1625 GMT 14 Feb 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, February 14 (XINHUA)--Anti-government organizations in El Salvador seized the Panamanian Embassy and another public building in the capital yesterday to press their demand for the release of their members arrested by the government on the previous day.

According to news reports from San Salvador, members of the "February 28 Leagues" seized the Panamanian Embassy in the western section of San Salvador and held hostage three embassy officials including the ambassador. They demanded the release of their arrested "comrades" and the hand-over of the bodies of others killed by the government.

They declared that they took the action to expose to the world the system of oppression existing in their country.

This is the second time this year that the Panamanian Embassy was taken by that anti-government organization.

On the same day, members of another anti-government organization, the "Popular revolutionary bloc," took about 500 hostages when they occupied the building of the National Aqueduct and Sewage Association in downtown San Salvador.

There were clashes between members of the opposition organizations and the police in the past few days in other places of the country.

In view of the increasing anti-government violence, the junta of El Salvador promised on February 11 to introduce economic and social reforms and tried to come to some kind of agreement with the anti-government organizations. However, according to Western news agency reports, anti-government elements rejected the proposed reforms declaring that the present government does not represent the people, and is merely a tool of the oligarchs at home.

Yesterday, the government revoked its agreement with the students, saying that the agreement was reached under pressure. The situation consequently became explosive.

The National Association of Teachers of El Salvador, the Christian Federation of Peasants and the General Association of Students have announced that they would stage anti-government demonstrations today.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AFGHAN GUERRILLAS INTENSIFY OPPOSITION

OW171926 Beijing XINHUA in English 1841 GMT 17 Feb 80 OW

[Text] Beijing, February 17 (XINHUA)--Multiplying defections from the army of the Soviet-installed Afghan regime have reportedly contributed to the successes of recently intensified guerrilla activities, according to news reports received here.

Groups of defectors carried anti-tank weapons and anti-aircraft guns with them. They are believed to have boosted the morale and ability of the guerrillas to stand up to the Soviet armour and heavy firepower.

One of the latest guerrilla actions was a pre-dawn raid on an army garrison outside the town of Jalalabad midway [between] Kabul and the Pakistani border.

A spokesman of Hizbe Islami, one of the Afghan resistance movements, said that 300 Jalalabad policemen had crossed over to the guerrillas with their weapons.

Guerrillas have sabotaged the power line leading to Jalalabad, damaged a bridge and cut telephone lines. They also attacked a military outpost on the road to Kabul some 30 kilometres away from Jalalabad and cut the road linking Jalalabad with Surkhrood.

Guerrillas in the northeastern province of Baghlan have successfully attacked the enemy in the towns of Khost, Fring Bushi and Andarab.

In the eastern province of Paktia, several guerrilla camps were bombed and a number of Moslem fighters were killed.

In an ambush in the southwest province of Nemroz, the guerrillas killed 12 enemy troops and captured a quantity of arms and ammunition.

A Soviet armoured column was reported to have come under heavy attack early this week in the northeastern province of Badakhshan, while trying to relieve the guerrilla-surrounded Afghan garrison in Fayzabad, the provincial capital.

A UPI report yesterday said "Afghan rebels working in small groups are smuggling light arms into urban areas of Afghanistan and have begun sniping at Soviet troops in towns." Cases of shooting were reported near the post and telegraph office and the government building in downtown Kabul on the night of February 14.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CANADA RETURNS TRUDEAU, LIBERALS TO OFFICE

OW191258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1206 GMT 19 Feb 80 OW

[Text] Ottawa, February 18 (XINHUA)--The Liberal Party led by Pierre E. Trudeau has defeated the Progressive Conservative Party in the Canadian federal general election and will form a liberal majority government after less than seven months of a conservative government, according to preliminary returns of the vote late tonight. The preliminary results show that of the 282 seats in the House of Commons, the Liberal Party has won a clear majority of 146 seats; the ruling Conservative Party has gotten 103 seats, losing 33 seats, and the New Democratic Party has gained five more seats to 32. There is still one vacancy.

Of the 95 seats from the decisive province of Ontario, the Liberal Party has won a total of 52 seats, while the Progressive Conservative Party maintained only 38, and the New Democratic Party managed to retain 5 of its 6 seats.

The Liberal Party has swept the province of Quebec and won a total of 73 out of the 75 seats, except one for the conservatives. One candidate died last week in Quebec and the election in that constituency is put off until the end of March.

This is the second federal general election in Canada in less than a year. The Liberal Party which had been in power for 16 years, was defeated in the May 22 election last year by the conservatives. But the conservatives did not have enough seats in the House of Commons to form a majority government. They were only able to form an unstable minority government with 136 seats. This minority government was defeated in the House of Commons on December 13 last year by the opposition parties in a non-confidence vote on the government's budget and that led to the current general election, the first winter election since 1891.

The government's budget proposed a huge increase in gas (petroleum) price and an increase in the excise tax on gas. This aroused strong public reaction and became the main cause of the defeat of the Progressive Conservative Party.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS SANCTIONS AGAINST ITALY

HK260747 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Feb 80 n 7 HK

[Article by Fang Yuan [2455 0626]: "A Historical Lesson That Deserves To Be Remembered--The League of Nations' Sanctions Against Italian Aggression in 1935"]

[Text] The world is now strongly condemning the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Many countries have even suggested that the Soviet hegemonists should be punished to restrain them from further expansion and to safeguard world peace. At such a moment it is beneficial to review the sanctions applied by the League of Nations in 1935 against fascist Italy which invaded Abyssinia (Ethiopia).

On 3 October 1935, the Italian dictator Mussolini outrageously called out 300,000 troops to invade Abyssinia to establish his supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea. However, the Abyssinians rose to resist and upset the Italian scheme of a blitz attack. Italy's invasion of Abyssinia was then condemned by the whole world.

On 11 October 1935, the League of Nations adopted, by an overwhelming majority of 52 votes, a resolution to apply sanctions against Italy. The export of weapons and raw materials to Italy, the import of Italian goods and provisions of loans and commercial credit to Italy were banned. This was the first time in history that more than 50 countries tried to stop a war with an economic boycott and embargo.

Unfortunately, these impressive-sounding sanctions did not produce decisive effects because they did not include "oil," which was vital to Italy. It was excluded not because of negligence, but because of the fear of losing revenue. If there had been an oil sanction, Italy would have been unable to continue fighting. Aluminium, which was under embargo, was unfortunately a mineral Italy produced in excess of its own demand. In addition, Italy had stockpiled other strategic materials before the war. It could also buy them from the United States through middlemen. Consequently, the bluff and bluster of the sanctions could not check Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia. He soon captured Addis Ababa and the Abyssinian emperor Haile Selassie fled to Britain. On 9 May 1936, Mussolini arrogantly declared that Abyssinia had become part of the Italian empire.

The real causes of the failure of the economic sanctions were the lenient and tolerant policies of Britain and France which occupied leading positions in the League of Nations.

France feared war and did its utmost to direct the spearhead of war toward Africa. It hoped that war would not break out in Europe and that Italy would not expand toward the Balkans, the Danube and the Middle East to jeopardize French interests. Mussolini fully understood this and invaded Abyssinia a few months later. Though France violently condemned Italy, it soon yielded before Mussolini's threats. Churchill once said that, in Mussolini's eyes, Britain was nothing but a "frightened, dispirited old lady who could only be a scarecrow even in the worst conditions." Mussolini was again correct. On the "instructions" of Britain and because of the pressure exerted by the French Foreign Minister Pierre Laval, the Committee of the League of Nations responsible for studying the sanctions did not consider any action which might start a war and formulated a scheme of "half-hearted sanctions which the invaders could tolerate." Such sanctions, of course, could only end in failure.

From the military point of view, Britain and France could have blocked the Suez Canal to cut the Italian aggressor troops from their homeland and put Mussolini in a desperate position. Britain, which had the strongest navy, and France, which had the largest army at that time, were able to do this. However, these two countries, which did not even have the courage to carry out the oil embargo, had still less courage to do this. They were afraid of irritating Mussolini because he might then expand the war. Similarly, they did not have the courage to vigorously support the Abyssinians in their resistance against Italy. Worse still, the French authorities in Djibouti even tried to please Italy by intercepting and seizing the weapons the Abyssinians bought abroad. It was precisely due to the leniency, tolerance and concessions of Britain and France that Mussolini eventually succeeded.

However, Abyssinia alone could not satisfy the desires of Mussolini. Soon, a German-Italian axis was formed and war was spread to Europe. In his memoirs, former British Prime Minister Churchill wrote: "Perplexed and alarmed France and cowardly and peace-loving Britain were soon challenged by the European dictators." Though this incident occurred nearly half a century ago, is the lesson drawn from it not worth people's serious attention?

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' CORRESPONDENT ON ENERGY PROBLEM IN PHILIPPINES

OW221552 Beijing XINHUA in English 1506 GMT 22 Feb 80 OW

[Text] Manila, February 22 (XINHUA correspondent Zhang Jie)--The Philippines has over the past several years achieved initial successes in reducing its oil import by expanding domestic oil production and exploiting other power resources.

In 1973, the country had to import 95 per cent of its oil needs, spending a total of 230 million U.S. dollars. The spending on oil kept on increasing as a result of higher prices and growing demand. It totalled 1,600 million dollars last year, nearly seven times that of 1973, accounting for almost one-third of its yearly export earnings.

The Philippine Government adopted a series of measures to solve the energy problem, which have proved to be effective.

First, boost oil production at home. Last year, the Nedo oilfields went into operation. Its daily output reached 40,000 barrels by the end of the year. According to the statistics released by the Energy Ministry, the country's oil output can now meet 11 per cent of its home consumption. It saved 184 million dollars last year by tapping its own oil deposits.

Secondly, diversify oil supply by importing part of crude oil from other ASEAN members and Asian countries. Formerly all its oil supply came from the Middle East. Last year it concluded a long-term trade agreement with China, fixing oil imports from China. Agreement was also reached with Indonesia on the volume of oil imports from that country. Now oil from China, Indonesia [words indistinct] account for some 30 per cent of its total oil imports.

As a result of their efforts to tap hydroelectric resources, the capacity of the country's hydroelectric stations exceeded 934,000 kilowatts last year, up 180,000 kilowatts from the previous year or 22.5 per cent of the nation's total electric power. The government also plans to build over 4,500 small hydroelectric stations with total generating capacity of 880,000 kilowatts.

In 1979, four sets of geothermal power generating equipment totalling 220,000 kilowatts were installed, ranking the third in the world in exploiting the heat of the earth's interior, next only to the United States and Italy.

Coal, solar energy, organic gas, wind-force and wood are all brought into use.

It was planned that increase in alcohol production will help cut oil consumption in the sugar-producing province of Bacolod by 20 per cent this year.

Government regulations for reducing energy consumption were also put into force.

CSO: 4020

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ORIGINS, LESSONS OF WORLD WAR II DISCUSSED

Beijing SHIJIE LISHI in Chinese No 5, 2 Oct 79 p 19-28

[Article by Lo Rongqu [5012 2837 3255]: "On the Road to Total War--A General Discussion on Some Problems of the Origins of World War II"]

[Text] Editor's Note: Forty years ago, World War II broke out across Europe. This was a major event in the modern history of the world, and its aftermath may be seen everywhere in the international political life of today. At the present time, in particular when the peoples of the entire world are struggling to oppose hegemony and maintain world peace, a study of the history of World War II and its lessons has more realistic significance. This issue of our publication carries an article by Lo Rongqu titled, "On the Road to Total War" and another by Li Qulian [2621 1565 1670] and Pan Renjie [3382 0086 2638] titled, "Concerning Some Problems on the Early History of World War II." It is hoped that our country's study of the history of World War II will become more lively.

A Quest for a False Peace Causes a Humiliating War

Imperialism's struggle for hegemony and a redivision of the world is the source of the wars of modern imperialism, and it has also been the source of two world wars. In its international political and economic background, in the way it broke out, the circumstances of both warring sides, in the character of the war, in its progress and outcome, this war was vastly different from the previous great war.

The roads to the two great wars also possessed individual characteristics. In World War I, two opposing imperialist military blocs in Europe engaged in a mad arms race, and perpetrated mutual threats of war and provocations that grew in intensity, and eventually led to a great slaughter. In World War II, certain great powers begged for comfort and ease in the face of fascist aggression, and winked at and appeased the aggressors in a vain

attempt to avoid war only to hasten the advent of the great war. Both roads reached the same goal via different routes. If one says that militarism was the most important factor leading to World War I, then history's greatest irony is that pacifism was the most important factor leading to a new great disaster of war.

World War II took place under new circumstances in which the world was split into two factions, and in circumstances under which a world capitalist economic crisis heavily attacked the occidental nations, and it was stealthily instigated separately in Europe, Africa, and Asia by three fascist powers imbued with aggressive imperialism. This war had a very long prelude and was characterized for a very long time by a rather strange unilateral quality. This had long before been pointed out by Comrades Stalin and Mao Zedong.¹ This characteristic did not come about suddenly but was a product of post World War I international political and economic relationships. Germany, Japan, and Italy, the three fascist aggressor states, were all countries with limited resources, industry, and military power. Germany was under the severe political, economic, and armaments restrictions of the Versailles Treaty, and was also strategically encircled by France and the nations of the Little Entente allied with France. Japan was restricted by the disarmament of the Washington Naval Conference and the bounds of the Nine Power Pact, and relied for a large quantity of the raw materials needed for its domestic economic development on the United States on the other shore of the Pacific Ocean. Italy's economic and military weakness was much more serious than Japan's. In short, a very great contradiction existed between the ambitions of these three in contending for hegemony and their economic and military strength. Consequently, when first they began their aggression, they used limited military actions to gain limited objectives. This strategy of aggression not only helped paralyze and fragment their powerful opponents, but also helped concentrate their limited military forces to attack a single enemy and gain a quick victory. Everyone knows that each time Hitler launched aggression in Europe, he always declared to the world that this was his "last territorial demand," from the time his armies marched into the Rhineland, gobbled up Austria, dismembered Czechoslovakia, right up until he demanded the Polish Corridor and Danzig. He used this deceitful trick repeatedly. Western war historians have termed these kinds of wars, "limited wars." (These "limited wars" are a different concept than the limited wars using conventional weapons as distinguished from nuclear wars of the post World War II era). Some people have termed these tactics the "one-slice-at-a-time method."²

¹ Stalin: "Summary Report to the 18th Party Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR," "Short Course on the History of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR, Chinese edition; Mao Zedong: "A Chat to XINHUA RIBAO Correspondents on the International Situation," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," single volume edition, pp 544-545.

² Frederick M. Sallagar, "The Road to Total War," 1969 p 22.

Japan's aggression in China also made use of such methods, which our country termed a "nibbling" policy.

This limited war strategy of fascist Germany, Japan and Italy illustrated not only their extreme hypocrisy and cunning, but also exposed their extreme inherent weaknesses. But this policy of aggression was used with extraordinary success, and was, for a time, put to repeated tests and proven to be correct. What was the reason for this? It was because this aggressive tactic happened to strike at the weakness of Western countries at that time in that it was fitted to their vain hopes for an avoidance of war and their political needs for dragging out an ignoble existence.

The policy adopted by the leaders of the Western countries before World War II in dealing with fascist aggression was, in a word, a policy of appeasement. This policy of appeasement was produced not through the error of any individual bourgeois political personnage, but came about through the sum total of the development of all the political and economic developments of pre-war imperialism. Some books published in the Soviet Union blamed the policy of appeasement entirely on efforts by the Western bourgeoisie to hatch a worldwide "anti-Soviet plot." But this is a one-sided and overstated formulation. Any effort to blame the complex reasons that led to world war solely on a single contradiction is to simplify the complicated processes of world history. The factors that led to the appeasement policy are complex: the fear of war sequelae left in the minds of people by the disaster of World War I caused pacifist ideas to be all the rage for a time following the war; the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the rise of the popular front movement in Western Europe aroused feelings of dread at "being made Red" in some social strata; the economic bankruptcy and social chaos produced by the worldwide great economic crisis together with insurmountable internal problems placed some Western countries in extraordinarily weak positions in their international economic policies and international politics; the numerous contradictions existing among the parties to the Versailles and Washington treaties caused a lack of unanimity among the Western countries toward Germany and a lack of unanimity toward the issue of disarmament, etc. The coming together of these complex factors made appeasement into a popular ideological trend in the West. One needs only look at the news of the signing of the Munich Pact in September 1938 that aroused a cry throughout the Western world of "peace in our time" to know that this most certainly was not the evil action of individual political leaders. At that time, Chamberlain received during a 3-week period about 40,000 letters of praise and gifts from all over the world. From Holland came tulips, from Greece came fine wines, and in France one city changed "Peace Street" to "Chamberlain Street"....In the United States appeasement appeared in more virulent and more absolute isolationism. While Japanese imperialism was expanding its aggression of getting an inch and taking a foot in China, American isolationists in the House of Representatives were loudly calling for an investigation of government arms production and sales. In early October 1937, when the danger of war threatened the interests of the United States, President

Roosevelt caused a great uproar in the United States merely by calling for increased vigilance against the spread of the contagion of war. Numerous groups issued statements criticizing the president for leading the people of the United States into world war, and some people wanted to launch a petition campaign to get 2.5 million signatures to "keep America out of the war." This shows that the fear of war sickness had reached the stage of hysteria.

The issue of war and peace was the most important political issue of the times. Opposition to war and the adoption of all measures to prevent a new world war was taken as a matter of course. The issue for the leaders of the Western countries was to beg peace from the aggressors in order to protect their own vested imperialist interests and to maintain appearances for the tottering international order of Versailles and Washington. The course they set was: 1. to find a direction that was relatively safe for the Western nations in which Germany's demands for "lebensraum" could be satisfied. This meant forsaking Central Europe and Eastern Europe and withdrawing to the west of the Rhine River to allow Hitler's "Drang nach Osten" so as to preserve the basic power sphere of Western Europe. 2. to find a peaceful means to satisfy Hitler's expansion, being willing to sell out everything if only Hitler would agree not to go to war. In addition to the reasons given above, appeasement derived from unpreparedness for war. Outbreak of war anywhere in Europe could touch off a major war, which would damage their fundamental interests, and thus they strove to avoid being dragged into any European war. Chamberlain declared that under no circumstances would England go to war on behalf of a small country.

In order to avoid war for themselves, the Western countries not only betrayed China, Spain, and Abyssinia, but also abandoned the heartland of Europe and sold out their total international credibility. In the end, they also betrayed their own national security interests. The more the Western countries feared war, the more Hitler wanted to use war to terrify the Western countries. Hitler said to his generals: "Our enemies are little maggots. I learned all about them at Munich."³ During the Czechoslovak crisis, Hitler told his generals: "The danger that foreign countries will launch a preventive war against Germany does not exist..... no matter what, I firmly believe that in the occupation of non-militarized areas as with the occupation of Austria, France will not dispatch troops and thus, neither will England interfere, and so I decided to take action and invade Czechoslovakia."⁴ The result was that with each advance in the policy of appeasement, the more a new war drew near and the possibility of avoiding war receded.

While exploring the road to World War II, people asked the following question: Once the war started, was there no way of stopping it? On the basis of post-war files, I fear it is difficult to make a definite

³ Schirer: "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich - A History of Nazi Germany," p 531.

⁴ "International Military Tribunal Documents," 2881-PS, p 40. John W. Wheeler - Bennett, Munich, Prologue to Tragedy, 1962, p 118.

assertion about this. Imperialism's contending for hegemony and the struggle for redistribution of colonies is the source of modern imperialist wars; so long as imperialism exists, imperialist wars will be unavoidable. This is a fundamental Marxist viewpoint on war. But Marxism has never said that world wars are inherently unavoidable. Imperialist wars and world wars are two different concepts. The development of an imperialist war into a world war is a process requiring time, and not something that suddenly erupts. Between 1935, when Germany began to rearm, to the occupation of the Rhineland and the launching of the war in Poland, there were many serious international obstacles that had to be surmounted. From the time when Japan launched the 18 September Incident [the 1931 Japanese seizure of Shenyang] until the outbreak of the war in the Pacific, the spread of the flames of war traversed 10 years of changes. It may be said that plentiful opportunities existed to stop war and methods for stopping the war were also fully at hand. First of all, the nations that suffered fascist aggression could have unanimously demanded and, in fact, did support resistance to aggression; second, an unjust cause finds scant support and is subject to various international limitations and restraints; and further, the united strength of the Western countries exceeded, in every respect, the combined strength of the aggressors. Still another point deserving of mention was that on the eve of the great war the chauvinistic madness that raged during the eve of World War I did not exist on either side, and some people had feelings of disgust at a new war. Students of the causes of great wars have pointed out that "the 1939 war was not only unwelcome, it was simply one war among all the wars in history that scarcely anyone wanted."⁵ Aside from a small handful of fascist aggressor thugs, this thesis seems not unreasonable.

On the eve of the great war, some sensible people in both the Soviet Union and in Western countries proposed adoption of collective security policies, properly advocating the imposition of sanctions on the aggressors and the safeguarding of world peace. The Soviet Union, in particular, strove to build collective security with long and untiring efforts. In 1934, the French foreign minister, Louis Barthou, rushed around every country in Europe trying to build an "Eastern Locarno" for resistance to the threat from Germany that would include the Soviet Union. Striving for the entry of the Soviet Union into the League of Nations and an agreement on a Franco-Soviet mutual aid pact -- such measures with their abundance of farsightedness found vindication in the subsequent development of history. After Barthou was unfortunately assassinated, both the Western countries and the League of Nations tried, under the pressures of circumstances, to adopt various measures for punishment of the aggressors to prevent a new war. At that time the League of Nations used three methods to punish the aggressors; one was moral sanctions, one was economic sanctions, and one was resort to military action or "police action" to protect peace. The strict tests of history have shown moral sanctions alone against aggressors are utterly senseless, because aggressors do not care about morality.

⁵ A.J.P. Taylor, "The Origins of the Second World War," 1961, p 104.

After the Japanese aggressors occupied northeastern China, as soon as the Western countries merely talked about sanctions, Japan openly withdrew from the League of Nations and from the disarmament conference. As American Secretary of State Stimson discovered, "non-recognition," the facts show, was of no practical use whatever in preventing Japanese aggression in China. An American historian made the following criticism: "This form of censure in foreign relations is nothing more than a cheap way of soothing the conscience in place of armed intervention." "Sticks and stones can break people's bones, but walls of paper and moral sanctions never hurt anyone." ⁶ One may well say that this went straight to the heart of the matter of "non-recognition."

History has shown that punishment of aggressors must take the form of real collective action. If as soon as Japan had invaded China the United States had not uselessly shouted, "non-recognition," and had not taken to a "neutrality law," but had embargoed shipments of arms, scrap iron, petroleum, and other military wares, Japan would not only have been unable to have launched the Pacific War but it would not have dared to expand the Sino-Japanese War without careful consideration. After Italy had launched its war of aggression against Abyssinia, the League of Nations passed a resolution cutting off petroleum to Italy. At that time some people became frightened lest these sanctions might lead to a danger of war, and strived behind the scenes to block them. In actual fact, had the Western countries really embargoed shipments of petroleum to Italy, this war could have been virtually brought to an immediate halt. On the eve of the Munich Conference, Mussolini told Hitler, "If the League of Nations had heeded Eden's controversial views on Abyssinia and extended economic sanctions to petroleum, we would have had no choice but to withdraw from Abyssinia within a week. This would have been an unmitigated disaster for me!" ⁷

As regards the use of collective military action for security, this was something that the Western countries were fundamentally unwilling to attempt at that time. But in this regard, history is not without some useful experiences. In 1937, as the Spanish War was spreading, submarines of unknown national origin (they were, in fact, Italian submarines) appeared in the Mediterranean Sea and committed acts of piracy in making sneak attacks on the merchant ships of various countries. Since British merchant ships sustained damage, the reaction of the British government was quite strong, and it invited nine Mediterranean countries to participate in the Nyon Conference (September). The conference decided to take collective action against the acts of piracy, severely punishing them. For this purpose, the navies of Great Britain and France provided more than 60 destroyers for patrol duties, which were termed the "seaborne police" force. Subsequently the piratical attacks ceased almost at once. This incident demonstrates that collective security measures are not only necessary to the

⁶ Thomas A Bailey, "A Diplomatic History of the American People," 1959, pp 696-697

⁷ Anthony Eden, "The Eden Memoirs, Facing the Dictators," 1962, p 297

preservation of peace, but that only through the use of armed force to back up sanctions can peace really be maintained and war prevented. Churchill's comments on this incident merit attention. He wrote: "The Nyon Conference, although an incident, is a proof of how powerful the combined influence of Britain and France, if expressed with conviction and a readiness to use force, would have been upon the mood and policy of the Dictators. That such a policy would have prevented war at this stage cannot be asserted. It might easily have delayed it. It is the fact that whereas "appeasement" in all its forms only encouraged their aggression and gave the Dictators more power with their own peoples, any sign of a positive counter-offensive by the Western Democracies immediately produced an abatement of tension. This rule prevailed during the whole of 1937." ⁸

The history of the eve of World War II demonstrates that the relaxation of international tensions cannot depend on unilateral compromises and giving way if they are to prove effective and endure for long. When there is sufficient force to halt aggression and resolutely punish aggressors, there may be no need to spill blood, yet victory can be attained. If the opportunity is lost to stop war under favorable conditions, once there is nothing left of these favorable conditions, one may be dragged into war by the enemy under the most unfavorable conditions. This was the situation in World War II. The French General Andre Beanfre estimated that in the military system envisioned by Marshall Foch in 1935, there would be a concentration of at least 280 divisions to take care of Germany, including those of France, Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Poland, with an additional 110 divisions from the Soviet Union, plus the British forces. But once the fascist axis was organized, Germany became able to draw on 80 divisions (Italian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian), while roughly the same number were lost to France. After the extinction of Czechoslovakia, Germany could field 130 divisions with an additional 75 divisions from allied countries lending support for a total upward of 200 divisions, while France fell to below 200 divisions (French, British, Polish, and Romanian). ⁹ These are only simple mathematical calculations of the war. If into these calculations is added the differences in quality of the troops of both sides, their morale, their degree of mechanization, and the competence of their commanders, etc., plus the loss of strategic superiority as a result of the abandonment of Austria and Czechoslovakia, then it may be said that England and France were bound to lose this war even before it started.

According to materials pertaining to the "Huorbahe Memorandum," which was made public at the Nurnberg Trials, Hitler and Mussolini originally predicted it would take from 1943 until 1945 to prepare for war and be able to take action. ¹⁰ But as a result of the appeasement policies of the

⁸ Winston S. Churchill, "The Second World War," Vol 1, "The Gathering Storm," 1967, Ninth Printing, p 233.

⁹ Andre Beanfre, "1940 - The Fall of France," 1967.

¹⁰ "Decisions of the International Military Tribunal for the Trial of Leading German War Criminals," 1955, Chinese text, pp 25 - 26.

Western countries, the pace of war was greatly accelerated with all-out war being triggered in 1939. This clearly shows that appeasement policies are stupidities rarely seen in the annals of human wars. Comrade Mao Zedong termed such stupidity, "to lift a rock only to drop it on one's own feet," which hit the nail on the head as far as appeasers are concerned. Appeasement will be forever nailed to a pillar of shame in world history.

From Partial War to Total War

1 September 1939, when Germany invaded Poland, is usually considered to be the start of World War II. But looked at in strictly scientific terms, during its early period the war was not a world war in actual fact as well as in name. This was because: 1. The war that had broken out in Europe embroiled only Great Britain, France, Germany, and Poland, and was not on the scale of the outbreak of World War I. Wars on this scale had often occurred in the history of Europe prior to this century, and they could only be termed European wars and not true world wars. 2. Though at this time there existed the war of Japanese aggression in China, and the war of Italian aggression in North Africa, still these three aggressors had launched wars independently in pursuit of their own requirements, and there has been no consultations among the three countries; there was as yet no true military alliance; and actions were not coordinated. After the European war broke out, Japan refused to become involved, and Italy delayed until June of 1940 when it struck while the iron was hot and entered the war. It may be seen that during the early period of the war, no worldwide total war was being formed. The fascist aggressors had no such military preparations, and they lacked the nerve to gamble for such high military stakes at the outset. But within the short period of little more than 2 years, these localized wars finally became worldwide wars, and became, as well, world wars involving more than 60 nations on an unprecedented scale and without precedent in history. Just how the war gradually expanded and whether some laws can be found that operate in this situation is a matter that very much merits exploration.

Nazi files captured after the war show that when Hitler first launched the war, he had nothing more in mind than playing his same old tricks, and act on his experiences with Czechoslovakia by fighting a limited war and swallowing up Poland. At a secret military conference of high ranking generals he convened at the Bayerishof [?] on 22 May 1939, he specifically stated that in this war, "most important will be as in World War I, before the victors /figured out what was happening, a single limited thrust/ [in italics] to test the new German armed forces." ¹¹ The Nazi strategic plan for Europe was basically a strategy of continental hegemony. Numerous times Hitler explained to his general some of this basic strategic thinking: to attack and destroy each Western country individually but not to attack on

¹¹ Frederick M. Sallager, "The Road to Total War," 1969 p 22. Emphasis added by quoter.

four sides and, particularly to avoid a "two front war" or a protracted war; to seek an understanding and an accord with Great Britain on a division of power spheres; to endeavor to keep America neutral throughout the war so as to avoid American involvement in the war. But later developments ran almost entirely counter to these expectations of Hitler. As in World War I, Germany estimated at first that it would take only several months to bring the war to a conclusion. (This was also the Japanese estimate when it first invaded China). But subsequent events demonstrated that once the machines of aggressive war are started, they quickly exhibit a demonic will of their own, and once they pass out of the control of the aggressor, they become enmeshed in an irretrievable situation. Now, even if one wanted to stop the war and exerted a tenfold effort, he would only be able to delay its spread, but it would be difficult to halt it.

Why did limited war become unlimited total war? The aggressive ambitions of fiendish aggressors such as the fascist imperialists were to rapaciously take a foot once they had gained an inch. The reason their plans for aggression appeared in the form of limited war was, to tell the truth, because they labored under their own economic and military objective limitations, and they really did not know clearly the actual economic and military strength of their adversaries. But victory in war brought about changes in the power relationships between their enemies and themselves and effected a change in estimates of the enemies' strength, from which revisions were made in war plans with an expansion in willingness to take risks in war. The German fascists had made no preparations and had no concrete plans for a world war. The victory over Poland, and particularly the blitzkrieg victory of 1940 in the invasion of Western Europe, exceeded the expectations of Hitler and his generals. These victories not only greatly consolidated Hitler's position of absolute rule over the Nazi military forces domestically, but also greatly enhanced his economic and military potential for enlarging the war. Hitler had had no concrete plans for the invasion of England; he had figured that once France had crumbled, England would be quickly forced to its knees to beg for peace and he would be able very quickly to reach an accord with England on dividing up the world and bring the war to an end; then he could rapidly turn his guns around for an attack on the Soviet Union, thereby removing the final and the biggest obstacle to German hegemony on the continent. But by this time the Churchill government had completely changed the Munich policy of the Chamberlain government and staunchly refused to accept Nazi enticements to surrender. Hitler's shame turned into rage and he improvised an invasion plan called, "Seelowe," planning, as well, to use the Luftwaffe to blast a road for the invasion of England. Many Western historians have criticized the failure of Hitler's war against England from a purely military angle. In fact, it was of more importance that this was a failure of Hitler's political strategy. This war unhinged Hitler's overall strategy for a division of the world between England and Germany and an attack on the Soviet Union to achieve hegemony over the European continent. The turning of the Nazi assault toward England and the Atlantic Ocean caused the United States to feel seriously threatened, and this impelled the American

Roosevelt government toward a closeness with England, with the revision of its neutrality laws to lend-lease laws, and the strengthening of the defenses of the Western Hemisphere in a large step toward involvement in the war. At the same time, Britain's danger of defeat forced the British government to hope urgently for an alliance with the power with the largest land army on the eastern end of Europe, the Soviet Union, in order to oppose Hitler's Germany. Both of these developments ran entirely counter to Hitler's expectations. But Hitler's tendencies toward an expansion of aggression in Europe were hard to avoid.

Hitler tried in vain for a sudden knockout blow against England, but his blows caused no knockout and he was feeling impatient to turn in the other direction to launch his "Barbarossa Plan," using his entire war machine for an attack on the Soviet Union. This war was, after all, Hitler's fixed strategic move for domination of the continent, and now that he had to continue a protracted war for supremacy with England, it was a war that could not be avoided. In early 1941, Hitler said to his generals, "If the threat from Russia were eliminated, we could then fight a war with England for an unlimited period."¹² Hitler had hoped to conclude the war with all possible speed only to launch a more risky war of aggression; he had originally striven to avoid following the same old disastrous road of a "two front war," only to end up sinking into a two front war; he had striven to divide and separate England, the United States, and the Soviet Union only to bring about a closeness among England, the United States, and the Soviet Union, and to be strategically surrounded by an anti-Hitler alliance. The subsequent changes in the course of the war that resulted from these factors permit us to study the profound dialectics that modern welfare contains.

Japan gradually expanded its aggression in East Asia, and showed signs of turning a partial war into a total war in the same way Germany had done. The Japanese imperialists had great ambitions. They thought not only of taking over China for themselves, but also attempted in vain to march northward to seize Soviet Eastern Siberia, and to march south to seize large areas in Southeast Asia, and in the Southwestern Pacific to establish a Greater East Asian Empire. Ever since the 18 September Incident, Japan had been using China's northeast as a base from which to prepare a new war. Because Japan had fatal weaknesses in strategic resources, the expansion of its aggression had been for a long time through a policy of "nibbling," while giving attention to the avoidance of a rupture with the Western countries, particularly to avoiding the outbreak of war with the United States. In August 1936, a conference of five Japanese ministers approved a plan for expansion into Southeast Asia "using gradualist peaceful methods."¹³ In 1937 when Japan launched its total war of aggression

12 Shirer: "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich - A History of Nazi Germany," p 531.

13 "Decisions of the Far Eastern International Military Tribunal," 1953, Chinese text, p 71

against China, the hope had also been to bring the Chinese government to its knees in surrender. But unexpectedly, Japan became mired in the great morass of a national struggle for liberation of the Chinese people against Japan, from which it could not extricate itself. Beginning in 1938, Japan used all sorts of methods to induce surrender, all of them unsuccessful, and the more they sank into a war of aggression in China, the deeper they went, while their contradictions with the Western countries became sharper and sharper. In order to defeat China totally and bring the war against China to a close, it was necessary to cut completely the supply lines for military goods going into China, and to destroy quickly the American and British defense ring in the Western Pacific, as well as occupy Southeast Asia with its abundant war resources. Because of this, the prolongation of the aggression in China made it difficult for Japan to avoid being impelled to hasten its plans to march southward. Japan had intended not to advance into Southeast Asia until after conclusion of the war in China, but the tragic defeats of the Western countries on the continent of Europe during the summer of 1940 impelled Japan to strike while the iron was hot and brazenly begin its southward march, expanding into the colonies of the Netherlands East Indies and French Indo-China. Thus, the contradictions between Japan and the United States and Great Britain dramatically worsened. In June 1941 when Germany launched its invasion of the Soviet Union, it strongly urged Japan to join the war. Had Japan begun war against the Soviet Union at that time, the European war and the Asian war would have been linked as one. But Japan preferred to wait until the tiger was slain, and bided its time while intensifying its policies for a march south to seize the war resources and to take over the British, Dutch, and French colonies in the Far East. The Japanese navy had not planned to fight a war with the United States, but in order to guarantee fully a total victory in Southeast Asia and supremacy over the Western Pacific, it decided to stake everything on a single venture in a single military gamble. It launched a sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, which ignited total war in the Pacific Ocean. From a tactical standpoint, this attack was a great victory, but strategically it was, like the German attack on England, a fatal mistake on the part of the aggressors. The bombs that rained from the air on Pearl Harbor awakened the Americans. On the following day, the United States declared war on Japan, which was followed by declarations of war by Germany and Italy against the United States. So it was that the war that Germany and Japan had vainly tried to avoid had finally broken out. According to the memoirs of American Admiral Richardson, President Roosevelt had told him at the end of 1940 that should Japan attack Thailand, the Kra Peninsula or the Netherlands East Indies archipelago, the United States would not enter the war; and even if the Philippines were attacked, the president also doubted that the United States Congress would approve going to war.¹⁴ Now the load of bombs Japan had dropped instantaneously helped President Roosevelt decide the great and difficult problem of whether the United States should go to war.

¹⁴ Herbert Feis, "The Road to Pearl Harbor," 1950, p 127

To summarize the above, the three aggressor nations launched wars when their own strength and preparations were inadequate, and they first launched local wars. The world of today is no longer the world prior to the 19th century; it is linked together and peace is indivisible. The fires of aggressive war spread to divide the world into two natural camps: the aggressor camp and the anti-aggressor camp. Among the German, Japanese, and Italian fascists, particularly between the German and Italian fascists, there had been no mutual links, and, in fact, there were serious contradictions. But because of the demands of joint struggle, they finally banded together. Likewise, the non-aggressors were in even greater disarray; between Great Britain and the United States and between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, sharp economic contradictions or political contradictions existed, before the war, but faced with a strong enemy, their combined interests in resisting fascist aggression brought them closer together and they went along together. From a theoretical standpoint, the contradictions between capitalism and socialism are more acute than among capitalist countries, and on the eve of the war some people did indeed think of turning all the contradictions of capitalist countries into a struggle against socialism, but history has shown that this attempt did not succeed. On the contrary, countries with different social systems formed an alliance in this war, and even though some people called it a "strange alliance," 15 this alliance went through many twists and turns finally to experience success in attacking and destroying the fascist axis.

History Surmounts the Ruins of War To Advance

The fires of World War II were ignited first by two different fascist imperialists in different regions, and each country became embroiled in the war at different times and under different circumstances. At the outset, views on this war were not unanimous, and this plus the profound ideological differences that existed made the countries affected and threatened by fascist aggression unable to form a united front against aggression. Noteworthy were the efforts made on the eve of the war by the Western countries and the Soviet Union to establish talks leading toward a military alliance, which collapsed, resulting in the formation of an extraordinarily strange and abnormal state of affairs in which England, France, and Poland formed a pact against Germany, and the Soviet Union and Germany reached temporary entente. This rupture created serious confusion in the international anti-aggression front. This was extremely unfortunate. Serious and scientific summarization of the lessons in the failure to establish an alliance against Hitler on the eve of this war is an important task for historians studying the origins of great wars.

The initial divergence in views about the nature of World War II reflected to a great degree the international contradictions and confused situation

15 Henn Michel, "The Second World War," 1975, p 470.

that existed at that time. When the world war first broke out in 1939, the Western countries announced that they were fighting for freedom and democracy, and that the war against Germany was "a war in which democracy was opposed to fascism." On 3 September 1939, Churchill said in a speech before the House of Commons that, "this is not a war over the issues of Poland or Danzig; we are fighting to help the whole world escape the pestilence of Nazi tyranny and to protect mankind's most sacred possessions"¹⁶ But from another side, Soviet and Comintern publications ran denunciations saying that, "for the sake of world domination, the ruling classes of England, France, and Germany" have begun "an imperialist war" and "the arch criminal chief culprits are the governments of the capitalist countries in which the governing classes in each of the combatant countries are paramount."¹⁷

It is generally recognized that the crux of an evaluation of the character of the war during its early period lies in how to view the policies pursued by the British and French governments. The beginning stage of this world war appears, superficially, identical with that of World War I in that it was also a fight between two great imperialist blocs, and the French-English war with Germany also contained elements of a struggle for hegemony. But, can it be said on the basis of these points that the initial stage of World War II was a war with an imperialist character? I believe this touches on the question of how to characterize the nature of world wars. The nature of wars is usually determined on the basis of the politics of both sides before the war and the goals they pursue during the course of the war. Numerous countries are engaged in war on both sides during a world war. In analyzing the nature of World War I, Lenin pointed out the need to clarify its true social nature, saying, "One must cite from the sum total of materials on each combatant country and on the foundations of economic life worldwide."¹⁸ One must first of all make an overall examination of the total politics of every country in Europe.¹⁹ This is to say that judgments on the character of a world war must be founded in the sum total of the total politics of the combatant countries and not just on some temporary circumstances. The combatant countries on one side in World War II were fascist Germany, Japan, and Italy. The war they started was, from beginning to end, a war that was imperialist, looting, and aggressive in character. But the situation on the other side was complex. Not only were the combatants more numerous than in World War I, but from the beginning it included various countries of differing circumstances and different social systems. It may be said that it was a war in which every country pursued

16 Gordon Wright, "The Ordeal of Total War," 1968, p 235.

17 "Comintern Manifesto Commemorating the 22d Anniversary of the October Revolution," Yanan LIBERATION Magazine, 95th issue, 1939.

18 Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 733.

19 Lenin, "War and Revolution," "Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3 pp 72 - 73.

its own goals. These countries may be roughly divided into four categories: colonial dependencies, generally weak and independent capitalist countries, the socialist Soviet Union, and the capitalist great powers. Each category of country had its own special goals in the war, but common interests in opposing aggression made them ally and, consequently, they had joint goals of anti-fascist aggression. The history of this great war was replete with countless contradictions in dissimilar goals, but the overall tendency of all these contradictions was, in the end, to combine into a historic joining of forces. This was a basic conception in the Marxist observation and study of the development of modern world history. Though some bourgeois historians have not overlooked the study of subtle and minor things about the historical development of world wars, they have always looked at world history from the standpoint of Europe as being the center or from a big power standpoint, and consequently they have frequently come to some preposterous conclusions about major events in world history.

The English and French declaration of war on Germany was not really to defend Poland's independence, but was to oppose the German destruction of the established imperialist order in Europe and to restore the confidence that they had lost in the eyes of Europe and the world as a result of the total bankruptcy of their Munich policies. Though England and France declared war, they actually only declared it but did not fight it, and their guarantees to Poland became only empty promises never kept. Such a declaration of war did not frighten Hitlerian fascism, of course; on the contrary, it only met with contempt from the aggressors and it fully exposed France's and England's weaknesses in the face of the enemy. When he launched his invasion of Poland, Hitler was not prepared to launch an attack at the same time or subsequently against the western front. Only after Poland had been put to flight did Hitler say to his generals on 27 September that he had decided "to attack on the western front with all possible speed because the allied armies of France and England had not yet completed preparations."²⁰ This clearly showed that England and France had objectively driven Hitler to quicken his steps to attack the western front at once.

England and France had been forced to declare war; they were in no way prepared for war. So the early stage following the outbreak of the war was a very slight war. To use Chamberlain's words, it was a "twilight war," and this so-called twilight war was one in which either "peace" or "war" was still possible. Behind the scenes, England and Germany were engaged in talks of extreme secrecy, and some people have said that not only were Chamberlain and Halifax unopposed to Hitler's conditions, but even Churchill was in favor of a halt to the war. These secret discussions data have not yet been made public.²¹ Both Churchill's and Eden's memoirs avoid discussion of them, so the inside story is still not clear.

20 Shirer: "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich - A History of Nazi Germany," p 531.

21 David Irving, "Hitler's War," 1977, p 30.

Nevertheless, looked at from the standpoint of overall international struggle, the Anglo-French declarations that they would resist any further aggression on the part of Germany, their alliance with Poland, and their declaration of war on Germany marked a major turning point for the Western countries, pressed as they were by internal and external circumstances, to change their foreign policies toward Germany. This change was of benefit to the struggle of the world's people against fascist aggression at that time. The war had broken out suddenly. For the British and the French to truly use military methods to resist the German policies of aggression, numerous conditions would have to be prepared and time would be required as well. At the same time, the entire English and French strategy was defensive in nature, waiting for the enemy to attack, and this added to the "twilight and gloom" of the war. But if the entire process during the first stage is examined, leaving the defeatism of the French government aside, the British government may be said to have been steadily and with increasing resolution moving toward the road of armed resistance to Germany. Even during the crisis-ridden days following the fall of France, neither the British government nor the British people weakened in the face of Hitler's enticements, and when faced with a crucial choice between "war" and "peace," they adhered to the line of struggle. After the fall of France, England remained an important campaign base for every country on the continent to oppose the fascist gangsters. It was the base for the resistance movement on the continent and remained so even after the Soviet Union joined the war. Thus, the experiences of history must show that in its declaration of war on Germany and in steadfast combat against Germany, in the destruction of the center of reaction in the world, the number one fascist enemy, Nazi Germany, England made a great contribution. The contributions during World War II by every country in the anti-fascist alliance that waged the anti-fascist war in terms of its own conditions must be respected in history and given their rightful historical place.

Though the ruling class in England endeavored to pursue its own imperial interests in this war, this objective could not be attained. On the contrary, the end of the war saw a startling decline for the British colonial empire and the deepening of crisis. Win the war but lose the peace is the way Churchill expressed it to the Imperial Guards with a feeling of grief and not without remorse. Anyone who observed this war through thick imperialist glasses and hoped to revive their lost paradises after the war and to rebuild the world order intact did not understand at all that the anti-fascist war differed in its nature from World War I as well as in the nature of its liberation. The spearhead of fascist aggression first attacked and brought down the old colonial system of old style imperialism and brought colonial dependencies from the imperialist rear to become anti-fascist outposts. For large areas in Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe, the interests of the anti-fascist struggle and the interests of liberation struggles of national independence were one and the same. As for Western imperialism, the interests of the anti-fascist struggle and the interests of maintaining hegemony and colonial rule contained deep going contradictions. Consequently, democratic, national liberation, and social progress elements as well as anti-democratic, retrogressive, and imperialist

hegemonic factors were thoroughly intertwined in the entire process of the anti-fascist struggle, but world history, riding the waves of struggle, surmounts the ruins of war to move forward. The outcome of the war was that not only was the fascist axis and pipe dreams of building a new world imperialism buried, but the old colonial empires that historically were supreme for a time were also brought down. A great transformation in the world situation took place that benefits the people of every nation but is not beneficial to imperialist reactionaries.

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EARLY HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II ANALYZED

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[Article by Li Qulian [2621 1565 1670] and Pan Renjie [3382 0086 2638], "Concerning Some Problems on the Early History of World War II"]

[Text] The two world wars were only slightly more than 20 years apart. Male children born in the first few years following the end of World War I were barely able to shoulder rifles and fire guns when a new world war broke out everywhere. Why did the fighting begin so quickly? A clear answer to this question holds great practical significance for today, so this has to be a key issue in the study of history leading up to World War II. Of particular interest is the unprecedented speed with which matters changed and developed and the suddenness of the worsening of the situation during the slightly more than 6 years that lay between Hitler's rise to power, the onslaught against Poland by the German invaders, and the outbreak of total world war. A thoroughgoing analysis of these more than 6 years of European international relations may be said to be the most important ingredient in a study of history leading to World War II. Undeniably, Hitler's preparations for war during these 6 years proceeded step by step and with few hitches until by 1937 he was able to formulate a timetable for war--"between 1943 to 1945 at the latest, Germany's *Lebenstraum* problem will be solved," which he subsequently advanced by 4 or 5 years. The reason for the emergence of this situation we usually attribute to Hitler's success in "making a feint to the east only to attack in the west," while Great Britain and France vainly attempted to "lead the waters of disaster eastward," which destroyed Soviet efforts for collective security. Generally speaking, this is doubtlessly correct. But we cannot be satisfied with such a sweeping generalization, and we particularly cannot apply such a generalization like a formula, simply using it indiscriminately on every situation and every aspect of every situation, because when Hitler was advancing his policies of aggressive war, his methods were many and various; Britain and France's appeasement policies also went through processes of change, each with their own origins; and the signing of a mutual nonaggression pact by the Soviet Union and Germany also had a complex background. We plan in this article to air our superficial views on these issues.

When Hitler first rose to power, Germany was tethered by the Versailles Treaty. Militarily, Germany was placed in a position of inferiority to Britain and France, and diplomatically she was also rather isolated. Hitler said his domestic problem was "to forge a magic sword," and that his foreign policy was "to seek out comrades-in-arms." The so-called "forging of a magic sword" meant enlarging the armed forces and preparing for war; and the so-called "seeking out of comrades-in-arms" meant the undermining of the foundations of adversaries, the crumbling of the opponents' camps, and the organization of an aggressive bloc with himself at its head. Unless these two problems could be resolved, he could not be able to launch a war.

Hitler's first step was to destroy the fetters of the Treaty of Versailles so that Germany would be free to enlarge her armed forces and prepare for war. This step may be said to have been completed in June 1935 with the signing of the Anglo-German naval pact, in which process, it may be said, Hitler not only mostly played the trick of "feint to the east for attack in the west," but also made fullest use of contradictions existing between Great Britain and France. This is a point to which we must give increased attention in our study of how Hitler was able to scrap the treaty and expand his military forces.

Great Britain had consistently pursued a foreign policy of a balance of power in Europe. Prior to World War I when Germany's strength grew rapidly to threaten Britain's position of hegemony, Britain united with France to oppose Germany. Once Germany was defeated and France gained supremacy on the European continent, Britain turned to support Germany and restrain France. The contradiction between Britain and France was the most important contradiction in Europe for imperialism in the 20th Century. The coming to power of Hitler marked a new stage in imperialism's struggle for domination of Europe and the world, but Britain did not initially perceive the so recently risen Hitler's Germany to be a major threat. In the view of the ruling clique in Great Britain, so long as air and sea superiority were maintained, Britain would be perfectly safe across the unbreachable natural barrier of the channel that separated her from the European continent. Under these conditions, an appropriate expansion of Germany's military forces might be beneficial. First, it would pacify Germany and stabilize the situation in Central Europe, which was in a turbulent state in consequence of economic crisis; and secondly, it could check the French army. A balance between French and German forces could ultimately pay benefits in assuring Britain's position as European arbitrator. In March 1933 at the disarmament conference in Geneva, Britain tabled the "MacDonald Plan," the central point of which was a reduction in the size of the French army to allay Hitler's clamoring for "parity in armaments." After Germany withdrew from the disarmament conference and from the League of Nations, Britain continued to pressure France to compromise in order to get Hitler to return to the disarmament conference and to the League of Nations so that Germany's expansion of forces would be done within limits controlled by Britain.

Churchill and others who foresaw that Germany would become Great Britain's major protagonist, repeatedly called for an alliance with France against Germany and censured Britain's pressuring of France toward disarmament as a "most frightful danger in foreign policy."¹ But Britist Government circles at the time were, as Anthony Eden said, pervaded by a pro-German and anti-French sentiment of "support for the weak and restraint of the strong," and a "pursuit of balance of power," and newspapers and public opinion favored Germany in every possible way while criticizing France from many angles.² The views of the Churchill group were not taken seriously. This shows that the most prominent point of difference in the foreign policy debate taking place at that time among British Government circles over a policy toward Germany was not how to treat the Soviet Union, but how to treat France. In short, it was Great Britain that first took the path of appeasement of Hitler though this path was not the later typical appeasement policy of "leading the water of disaster eastward," but a continuation into the 20th Century of "supporting Germany while restraining France."

France's situation differed from that of England in that the coming to power of Hitler, who preached revanchism, created a direct threat for France first of all. Consequently, France supported the limitations on Germany provided by the Treaty of Versailles; and after acceding to sustained pressure from Great Britain to permit an expansion of Germany's armed forces, France supported an "experimental stage," and demanded, as well, that there be guaranteed sanctions in the event of any violations of the treaty, while refusing Hitler's demands for "military parity." Though a blind arrogance and a pro-German anti-communist ideology existed in France at that time, still it must be said that France's foreign policy for these 2 years was not one of pacifism, much less one of "leading the waters of disaster eastward," but rather a policy of alliances with small countries in Eastern Europe and with the Soviet Union for joint defense against Germany. Jean Barthou's foreign policy was a concentrated manifestation of this policy. The differences in the foreign policies of Great Britain and France were extremely evident at this time.

The Soviet Union seized on these differences and seized on the positive tendencies in French policies to launch actions toward France that proved quite effective. During the summer and autumn of 1934, the Soviet Union and France conducted foreign policy discussions centering on the issue of signing an eastern Locarno Pact with a series of European countries. These subsequently led to the signing of a treaty between the Soviet Union and France, and between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, which offered, for a time, good prospects for the building of an international united front against fascism. Hitler, on the other hand, did everything in his power to exploit and enlarge the contradictions between Great Britain and France, drawing Britain to his side, entering into unilateral deals with Britain,

1. Winston S. Churchill, "The Second World War," London, 1976 vol 1, p 85.
2. Antony Eden, "The Eden Memoirs--Facing the Dictators," London, 1962, pp 93-94.

isolating France, and pressuring France to abandon Barthou's foreign policy, thereby destroying the one situation that might have presented Germany's pursuit of a policy of aggression.

In October 1934, fascist elements assassinated Barthou, and his successor as minister of foreign affairs, Pierre Laval, began to change the direction of French foreign policy, placing Franco-German and Franco-Italian relations in first place. Barthou had believed that, "a paper promise from Nazi Germany was not enough," but Laval announced that, "if it can be done, I will sign an accord with Berlin without the slightest hesitation."³ He planned to relent on German rearmament in exchange for Hitler's agreement to sign a treaty guaranteeing Europe's security. In February 1935, Laval and Pierre Flandin,⁴ went to London where, together with the British Government, they made a "comprehensive" proposal to Germany that included "parity in armaments," and the signing of an eastern treaty. This marked the beginning for France of a turn to the path of appeasement.

This turn in French foreign policy was not, of course, an individual act by the likes of Laval, nor was it that following the death of Barthou France had no more statesmen "steadfast and strong" such as Clemenceau had been. Instead, it was a reflection of the decline of France and a product of the increasingly serious economic and political contradictions of French imperialism. To say that Barthou had been the very last statesman embodying traditional French domination of the European continent would be shortsighted and ambiguous, but the politician Laval, who curried favor on both the left and on the right, was the number one typical example of the puzzling French politics of the 1930's.

Great Britain wholeheartedly connived in Hitler's expansion of his armed forces, and though she felt uneasy at Germany's unauthorized construction of a huge air force, the signing of the eastern treaty would mean a strengthened France and an increase in Soviet influence, so this was something she did not want to look at. Hitler correctly saw this, and he seized the opportunity provided by the shift in France's foreign policy to capitalize on the contradictions between England and France, inviting the British foreign minister, Sir John Simon to visit Berlin first for Anglo-German bilateral talks. On the other hand, Germany publicly announced its building of an air force and the institution of universal military conscription, plus its intention to enlarge the German Wehrmacht to 36 divisions totalling 100,000 men to seize the initiative in creating a *fait accompli*.

3. John W. Wheeler-Bennett, "Munich, Prologue to Tragedy," New York, 1962, p 242.

4. Premier of France at that time

Next, Hitler attacked the Soviet-French treaty, opposing the conclusion of an eastern pact. He also ajured contention for sea supremacy with England and wanted the limitation on Germany's navy at 35 percent of England's entirely removed, and in June 1935 signed an Anglo-German naval pact. This was mainly the use of contradictions to drive a wedge between England and France. Great Britain had been the principal signatory to and guarantor of the Treaty of Versailles, so to go so far as to ignore other countries and sign an accord with Germany that tore up that treaty could not but produce serious consequences for the situation in Europe. Once the Versailles aggregation began to crumble and the obstacle to a free hand for Germany in enlarging its military forces and preparing for war was swept away, and with the destruction of Soviet efforts toward collective security, fascist aggressive ambitions were given encouragement. On the road to war hastened by the pacifism of the 1930's, the Anglo-German naval accord may be said to have been the first major milestone.

2

The years 1936 and 1937 were the two in which Hitler took his second step toward war—organization of an aggressive bloc. The conditions that enabled Hitler to pull Italy to his side in the first place were not, of course, accidental. Admittedly, it was possible partly because of Italy's dissatisfaction with the unequal sharing of spoils at Versailles, which made for sharp contradictions with England and France; then too, it was partly because of the consistent appearance of weakness on the part of England and France in the face of increased aggression by Germany and Italy, which limited their power, and that made the extremely ambitious Italian imperialism jump into the arms of the "strong one."

As regards Italy's expansion in Africa, the attitudes of England and France differed. If one says that England was out in front in abetting Hitler to scrap the treaty and expand his armed forces, then it was France that took the lead in the abetment of Mussolini in launching aggression. This was because Hitler's scrapping of the treaty to rebuild Germany's armed forces threatened France first of all, while the choking of the mouth of the Red Sea at the horn of Africa had direct ramifications for the security of the "lifeline" of the British Empire.

As early as January 1935 when Laval visited Rome to sign the Franco-Italian entente as a means of buttressing his own bargaining position in Europe and with Germany, France showed understanding of and gave support to Italy's expansion in East Africa. England acted otherwise. With the almost daily increase in tension between Italy and Abyssinia in the autumn of the same year, and under pressure of public opinion within the United Kingdom,⁵ the Baldwin government had no choice but to show that it would punish aggressors on behalf of the League of Nations and even maneuvered men of war to strengthen its naval forces in the Eastern Mediterranean. But England was apprehensive about a direct confrontation with Italy that would destroy

5. At that time England was in the midst of a transformation.

the only recently concluded European "stabilization," which resulted from making concessions to Germany, so she bent every effort to thrust France forward. France, which rankled from England's unilateral signing of a naval accord with Germany, was, of course, unwilling to sacrifice its hard won "friendship" with Italy. When Anthony Eden raised this issue, Laval, who was not the premier of France, asked straight out in reply whether England would guarantee as well that in future matters regarding Europe to "resolutely support the League of Nations even to inflicting sanctions."⁶

England's preoccupation with personal gains and losses, France's concern with currying favor, and the mutual contradictions between the two nations strengthened Mussolini's bravado. In October 1935, Italy launched its war of aggression against Ethiopia. Under pressure from medium size and small countries and world public opinion, the General Assembly of the League of Nations voted 50 to 1 for sanctions against Italy. But when Mussolini assumed a stance of not hesitating to fight "anyone who obstructs his progress," Laval quickly disassociated France from England indicating that should Italy attack the British fleet in the Mediterranean Sea, France would be unable to help England. The British Government then announced repeatedly that "we are not prepared nor do we intend to take action by ourselves." Soon they even served up the so-called "Laval-Hoar Plan" for giving Italy half of Abyssinia.⁷ In starting out like a lion and ending up like a lamb, England and France neither gained the favor of Mussolini nor increase his respect for them; they succeeded only in hastening the process whereby Italy drew close to Germany. Throughout the Abyssinian affair, Hitler watched the trend of events from the sidelines while gloating at the misfortune of others, thinking that now the time had arrived to take his next action. Three of the powers that had signed the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Pact were either quarreling with each other or were jealous and suspicious of each other, so in March 1936, on the pretext that the French Chamber of Deputies had ratified the Franco-Soviet Mutual Aid Treaty,⁸ he proclaimed the Locarno Pact "invalid," and sent his troops into the Rhineland demilitarized zone. We also already know that, faced with this new attack by Hitler, neither England nor France wanted to be placed in the front line of resistance to aggression, so they used the pacifism of

6. Anthony Eden, "The Eden Memoirs--Facing the Dictators," London, 1962, p 257.

7. This plan encountered opposition in the British House of Commons and was defeated, and Baldwin had no choice but to state that, "I feel these proposals have gone too far." Hoar became the scapegoat and was forced to resign his position as foreign minister, and the Laval government in France fell, as well, in January of the following year.

8. The Franco-Soviet Mutual Aid Treaty signed in May 1935 had been delayed for almost a year by the French ruling clique, finally gaining passage in the Chamber of Deputies in February 1936.

others as a cover-up for their own backing away, and finally had the League of Nations pass a resolution for the files saying that "Germany had violated Article 43 of the Treaty of Versailles as well as the Locarno Pact." With this the Versailles coalition collapsed like a house of cards. Hitler's victorious show of force, and the display of cowardice on the part of England and France naturally made a deep impression on Mussolini. Already possessed of an opportunistic state of mind to be with the winner, he decided at this time to throw in his lot with Nazi Germany. Armed intervention in Spain in July 1936 was the beginning of collusion between Germany and Italy. Spain occupied a chokepoint position on the sea lane from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea and had historically been a strategic point for big power hegemony over Europe and the world. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini desired that Spain continue under the influence of England and France. This commonality of interest impelled them to intervene in the fascist rebellion in Spain. Italy, which was in the process of expansion in the Mediterranean and in North Africa, seemed especially active.⁹ Hitler was happy to prolong this war. On 5 November 1937 at a top secret meeting, he made the following explanation: "Speaking from the German point of view, it would not be desirable for Franco to gain a 100 percent victory. We are now delighted that the war is to go on to maintain a state of tension in the Mediterranean Sea."¹⁰ Hitler believed that in this way not only could British and French efforts toward a rapprochement with Italy be smashed,¹¹ but also possibly a war involving England and France against Italy could be brought about."

Hitler actively used the opportunity for armed intervention in Spain to sow discord in Italian relations with England and France to bring Mussolini into his own arms. In October 1936, Germany invited the Italian foreign minister, Mussolini's son-in-law, Count Ciano, to visit Berlin. Hitler lauded Mussolini to him as "the leading statesman in the world," and spoke grandly of how Italy and Germany together could not only "conquer Bolshevism," but also conquer the West, including England. Hitler reminded Ciano that: Germany's "rearmament is progressing much more rapidly than rearmament can in England ..in 3 years Germany will be ready..."¹²

9. Mussolini committed 250,000 Italian troops altogether; German forces numbered about 50,000 men.

10. "Nuremberg Trials," vol 1, Moscow, 1956, p 617.

11. In May 1936, after Italian troops occupied Addis Ababa in Abyssinia, the French and the British believed that the Abyssinian incident should be brought to a close, and they quickly announced revision of the "sanctions" against Italy, with the British withdrawing the naval units sent to buttress the Mediterranean.

12. William L. Shirer, "The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich--A History of Nazi Germany," p 298.

Following cordial talks, the two sides signed a protocol in Berlin in which Italy expressed no further interference in German annexation of Austria, and in which Germany recognized Italy's aggression against Abyssinia. Both sides rectified conflicts in the Balkans and in the Danube region, and agreed to adopt common policies on intervention in Spain and on other international problems. Several days later, Mussolini joyously proclaimed that this is a protocol that has created an "axis."

The importance to Nazi Germany of armed intervention in Spain did not stop at this: it provided Hitler a chance to play at feinting toward the east so as to attack in the west, to undermine and paralyze England and France, and to organize, under the banner of anti-communism, an aggressive bloc directed against the west. This was the era in which Western Europe was caught up in an upsurge in the popular front movement, with the Comintern convening its 7th Congress in August 1935 and making a call for the formation of a popular front movement against fascism, and with "popular front" governments being set up in February and June of the following year in Spain and in France. All this aroused fears in the right wing of the British and French conservative parties who regarded it as a "communist pestilence." They listened to Hitler's anti-communist propaganda of the time with particular pleasure. The 16 June 1936 British conservative newspaper THE DAILY MIRROR wrote: "If the contagion of communism that is currently raging in Spain and France is permitted to spread to other countries, quite possibly the governments of Germany and Italy, in whose territories this contagion has already been eradicated, may be our best friends."¹³ Hitler capitalized on this anti-communist sentiments to make unbridled attacks on the Comintern, and to attack expressions of support for the government of the Spanish Republic from the Soviet Union and from progressive forces in all countries, depicting armed German and Italian intervention as "anti-communism." In consequence, even Churchill, who had all along been so staunchly opposed to those who appeased Germany, proposed on the Spanish issue that there be "non-intervention."¹⁴ France had by now turned to the British path of appeasement,¹⁵ and the so-called "popular front" government of Leon Blum

13. V. G. Trukhanovskiy, "History of International Relations and the Foreign Policy of the USSR (1917-1939), 1961, Moscow, pp 455-456.

14. Winston S. Churchill, "The Second World War," vol 1, "The Gathering Storm," London, 1957, p 192.

15. If it can be said that French diplomacy during the Laval era had shifted toward a policy of appeasement in Franco-German and Franco-Italian relations with differences and contradictions with England, then after 1936, France changed to pursuit of the British policy of appeasement in a diplomacy that emphasized Franco-British relations. Subsequently, Daladier was to become a junior partner in Chamberlain's policy of appeasement. This reflect the decline of French imperialism in the 1930's.

and others, which consisted principally of bourgeois opportunist politicians who claimed to be radicals and who, in order to gain the support of right wing conservative strength, went even further in their anti-communist and anti-Soviet stance than some conservative politicians who were notorious die-hard anti-communists.

It was against this background that Germany and Japan in November 1936 signed the so-called "Anti-Comintern Pact" in Berlin. One year later, in November 1937, Italy joined this pact too. The Germany-Japan-Italy aggressive bloc had been formed. Hitler joyously announced: "Three states have become united. What was first a European axis has now become a great triangle in the world." This triangle is pointed chiefly at our old enemies" (meaning England, France and the United States). "This is not a triangle formed from three weak chimeras but one that has been formed from three great states, which is prepared and which is determined to realize their rights and guarantee their vital interests."¹⁶

3

Germany had rearmed and the German-Japanese-Italian war alliance had been established. In the Orient, Japan had already launched an all out war of aggression against China, and in Europe Hitler was also poised for action. But before Hitler could strike massively, he had two problems requiring solution. One was to seize the strategic strongholds of Central Europe; the other was to avoid a two front war in the east and in the west so as to be able to create a beneficial strategic situation for Germany to launch a total world war. These would constitute the third and the fourth steps in Hitler's march toward war. On 5 November 1937, Hitler summoned his minister of war, his minister of foreign affairs, and the commanders in chief of his army, navy and air force to Wilhelmstrasse for a decisive secret conference. At this conference he put forward his strategic plans for a world war:

1. The "Lebensraum" that Germany required "was on the soil of Europe...and not abroad," and "this would be decided only through the use of armed force;"
2. When Germany moved, "it would be necessary to take into consideration three important factors--England, France, Russia--and the small countries aligned with them," but paramount were "the present two despicable enemies--England and France";
3. At the very latest, Germany's "Lebensraum" problem would be solved between 1943 and 1945, and earlier action might be taken under two conditions, namely if France became wracked with internal conflict or became involved in war with another country, (Hitler pinned his hopes for the

16. Quoted from F. Baojeumujin [phonetic], "History of World Diplomacy," (Chinese translation), vol 5, p 178.

former on the activities of fascist elements inside France, and the latter on a conflict between France and Italy provoked by the Spanish War);

4. No matter what, "Our objective must first be the simultaneous seizure of Czechoslovakia and Austria so as to eliminate a danger on our flank while fighting a war with the west."¹⁷

Quite clearly, the timing of the launching of the world war by Nazi Germany later on was greatly advanced from the originally planned date (1943-1945). Though no internal turmoil broke out in France, and though France and Italy did not clash, in the following 2 years, the appeasement policies of Chamberlain and Daladier helped Hitler, and greatly accelerated the advent of war.

In May 1937, Chamberlain succeeded to the position of prime minister of Great Britain. If it was said that ever since 1934 Britain had felt a threat from Nazi Germany and regarded her as being, under certain circumstances, the "greatest potential enemy,"¹⁸ she had now become the greatest direct threat.¹⁹ Faced with the aggressive threat of Hitler's Germany, Chamberlain strove to "lead the waters of disaster eastward," seeking to avoid war in the west. Naturally, even better would have been for Germany to fight the Soviet Union allowing Great Britain to harvest benefits. For its full significance to be understood, it must be added that the appeasement of "leading the waters of disaster eastward" is inextricably linked with the name of Chamberlain.

Chamberlain's vigorous efforts to promote the appeasement policy of "leading the waters of disaster eastward" could not be explained simply by the hatred of the bourgeoisie for the Soviet Union, much less by treachery or stupidity in his personal character, but rather it was a manifestation of the position and character of British imperialism. In the midst of still further decline,

17. "Nuremberg Trials," vol 1, Moscow 1957, pp 605-614. Except for a copy of a memorandum written by Colonel Friedrich Hossback, military adjutant to the Fuehrer who was at the conference, no other account of this conference exists. The Nuremberg International Tribunal has certified this data to be proof of Hitler's aggressive plans. During recent years, some people in the west have sought to overturn the verdict against Hitler and have tried to deny the authenticity of the Hossback memorandum, but most western students acknowledge that it reflects the substance of Hitler's statements and intentions.

18. See Jisi Midermasi [phonetic], "Strategy of Appeasement."

19. As of 1927 the German Wehrmacht comprised 39 division (of which there were 112 infantry corps, 43 artillery corps, 10 tank regiments, 4 motorized infantry regiments, and 14 cavalry regiments); the Luftwaffe had grown from 3 flying squadrons in 1935 to 66 flying squadrons in 1937 (each squadron had from 30 to 40 aircraft). See A. A. Gretsko, "History of World War II, 1939-1945," vol 2, 1974, pp 374 and 378.

the British Empire was fat, phlegmatic, and parrying blows everywhere. Strategically it was on the defensive and interested in maintenance of the status quo from whose preservation it could derive maximum benefits. In its view, defiance of Hitler could only bring loss with no gain; so the betrayal of other small and weak peoples, the sacrifice of the interests of France to reach an understanding with Hitler, as well as the promotion of a war between Germany and the Soviet Union that would harm both was, of course, the best possible plan for the maintenance of its own domination of Europe and the world.

Chamberlain gave first precedence to relations between England and Germany believing that the reaching of an accord by the two countries as a result of negotiations lay at the crux of England's security. He said, "If we are willing to sit down at the negotiating table with the Germans and, pencil in hand, underline their grievances and demands, the situation would be greatly clarified."²⁰ Chamberlain planned on using acquiescence in "peaceful expansion and development in the East" by Germany and Italy in exchange for Hitler's understanding. In a letter written to his younger sister, he said, "I really do not understand why we cannot say to Germany: so long as you will guarantee not to use armed force against Austria and Czechoslovakia, we will likewise guarantee not to use armed force to thwart your peaceful acquisition of the things you desire."²¹ Thus, in November 1937, he sent his personal envoy, Lord Halifax, to Germany for secret talks with Hitler, virtually revealing entire his entire appeasement program.

At this time France was enmeshed in a serious economic and political crisis. As of the end of 1937, the French economy, which had not fully recovered began to slide into a new reversal. The French political situation had a succession of crises such that from June 1937 when the Blum government fell until April 1938 when Daladier came to power, four cabinet changes had occurred within 10 months time. Diplomatically the French European front against Germany had completely crumbled. The Franco-Soviet Mutual Aid Treaty, owing to the anti-Soviet attitude of the French ruling clique, had never served any actual function. As for the Franco-Czech Treaty, the French Government regarded it not so much as a defense measure against Germany as a diplomatic burden and had long ago made plans not to implement it. Since France had scrapped through its own actions all the supports on which an independent foreign policy could rest, nothing remained but reliance upon the patronage of Great Britain. But Chamberlain, as it happened, did not wish to get too close to France for fear of hurting a possible accord with Hitler and Mussolini. He particularly feared a treaty-bound relationship linking England to France and France to Czechoslovakia that might drag England into conflict in Europe.

20. N. M. Mayskiy, "Memoirs of a Soviet Ambassador," vol 2 Moscow, 1964, p 431.

21. I. Makleod, "Neville Chamberlain," London 1961, p 208

Hitler saw quite clearly that England and France feared war, and the nature of the pacifism of leading the waters of disaster eastward. He quickly took steps to seize the strategic strongpoints in Central Europe. Between March 1938 and March 1939, when Czechoslovakia became fully occupied, Hitler used only a single year; with no bloodying of his troops, he brought down two countries and seized the strategic strongpoint of Central Europe to complete the third step in his march toward war.

On 22 May 1939, Germany and Italy signed a further treaty of military alliance, the so-called, "Pact of Steel." On the following day at a conference of German military chiefs, Hitler proclaimed, "We must burn our boats," and make England and France as well as their spheres of influence the first targets of our attack. "The war must aim principally at England and France." With this, Hitler made his final step toward war--capitalizing on the contradictions between the Soviet Union and England and France, he signed a mutual non-aggression treaty between Germany and the Soviet Union to avoid fighting a war on both the western and eastern fronts.

4

In March 1939 after Hitler completed the full occupation of Czechoslovakia, Europe entered the final half year before the outbreak of world war. The history of this half year is intricate and complex with developments occurring at a dizzying pace. As to how to criticize the Soviet-German Mutual Non-Aggression Pact that was signed under these circumstances is a question that everyone had much discussed. This article would also like to discuss a personal view.

Throughout the decade of the 1930's since Hitler had come to power, the socialist Soviet Union had faced three possibilities: first was the formation by the Soviet Union of an anti-fascist alliance with England and France for joint action against Hitler; second was for England and France to implement the leading of the waters of disaster eastward with Hitler first attacking the Soviet Union, very possibly in a pincer attack from both the east and the west involving Japan. Third was Hitler feinting in the east only to attack the west, first attacking England and France. Of these three possibilities, the best one and the one most beneficial from the standpoint of the Soviet Union and the people of every country in the world was the first. Beginning in the early 1930's, the Soviet Union made various diplomatic efforts to realize this possibility, but Soviet efforts were never able to break through the western policies of appeasement; with Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia, it was for one reason or another, either because of unwillingness to ally with the Soviet Union, or because of unwillingness to accept Soviet help; in western countries, the struggle of the people against aggression had not developed to a degree sufficient to make their governments abandon their appeasement policy. By contrast, Hitler's policy of feinting in the east only to attack in the west and leading the waters of disaster eastward that he pursued with England and France were mutually reinforcing and relentlessly promoted until they brought about the collusion at Munich in September 1938.

The Munich Conference brought not peace but war. Hitler wanted to fight. His spears of aggression were already aimed at Poland, and who would they be aimed at next? Toward the east or toward the west? For the Soviet Union this was particularly difficult to predict.

Historically, Poland has been the traditional route of attack on Russia from the east. In fact, a rumor circulated in Europe at the time to the effect that "Hitler wants to march east to seize the Ukraine." Though both England and France continuously reiterated "guarantees and support" to Poland, in view of the precedents in sacrificing Austria and betraying Czechoslovakia, plus the fact that both Chamberlain and Daladier who had promoted these policies were still in power, could the words of England and France be trusted? Under such conditions, had England and France wanted to include the Soviet Union in joint "guarantees" to Poland, they would have been unwilling to give the Soviet Union any real security guarantees, and so this might naturally become an incitement to a conflict between Germany and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Japan, which had concluded an "anti-communist" pact with Germany at this time, was both engaging in talks on a military pact with Germany and was launching probing attacks northward against the Soviet Union.²² The danger to the Soviet Union of a German-Japanese pincer attack also existed. Consequently, though the Soviet Union did not abandon its efforts to realize the first possibility²³ in the wake of the Munich Conference, the focus of its foreign policy was placed on a prevention of the occurrence of the second possibility, namely the prevention of England and France from conniving in or instigating an attack by Germany eastward against the Soviet Union. This was what Stalin emphasized at the 19th Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik) Congress of March 1939 saying, "maintain a prudent attitude and not allow those who are accustomed to cashing in on the instigation of war to involve our country in conflict."²⁴

The policies of England and France also began to change after March 1939. The ink had not yet dried on the declaration between England and Germany that Hitler had signed at Munich when he brushed it aside and sent his troops

22. The Zhanggufeng Incident of July and August 1938 and the Nuomenkan Incident of May to August 1939.

23. These efforts were revealed on 18 March 1939, 3 days after Germany completed the total occupation of Czechoslovakia, when the Soviet foreign minister, Litvinov proposed the convening of a conference of six European countries to discuss joint action to halt aggression. On 16 April, Litvinov met with the British ambassador to the Soviet Union to propose formally a tri-lateral mutual aid pact among England, France and the Soviet Union. But these actions brought no response from the Chamberlain government.

24. Stalin, "Problems of Leninism," Renmin Chubanshe, 1964, p 670.

in to occupy all of Czechoslovakia, opening the eyes of many people in the west. There was a public outcry in England, and in Parliament some who had consistently supported appeasement as well as half the members of the cabinet roundly criticized British Government policies, almost forcing Chamberlain to step down. Consequently, when Hitler turned his guns in the direction of Poland, Chamberlain had no choice but to announce in the House of Commons that if Poland is attacked and offers resistance, Britain will give "full support." Next he announced that Britain and Poland had concluded a permanent mutual aid treaty. France followed with a reiteration of its loyalty to the obligations of the French pact with Poland. Subsequently, both England and France announced guarantees to Belgium and the Netherlands, and they announced that should Greece and Romania sustain aggression, they would give immediate assistance, making a public announcement as well of a mutual aid agreement with Turkey. While this was taking place, England and France exchanged notes formally allying themselves with each other. Both governments hastily approved huge military budgets, and Britain instituted its first peacetime universal military conscription system. By way of countering Nazi Germany, British Government people increasingly proposed "an alliance with Russia." Consequently, in May the British Government responded to proposals from the Soviet Government and opened talks with the Soviet Union. But Chamberlain "profoundly distrusted Russia.²⁵ This distrust derived, on the one hand, from class hatred of socialist countries and consistent anti-Soviet efforts. On the other hand, it was also related to the low estimate of Soviet power held in western countries at that time.²⁶ Moreover, even at this time the Chamberlain government had not given up its plans to seek an accord with Germany. Between July and August of 1939, Britain and Germany continued behind the scenes contacts and discussions.²⁷

25. On 26 March 1939, Chamberlain wrote: "I must confess to the most profound distrust of Russia. I have no belief whatever in her ability to maintain an effective offensive, even if she wanted to. And I distrust her motives" (Taken from Winston S. Churchill, "The Second World War," vol 1, "The Gathering Storm," London, 1967, p 313).

26. In April 1938, the British military attache in the Soviet Union prepared a report in which he estimated that since 1937 a total of 65 percent of the high ranking military officers had been purged, causing a great weakening of the combat effectiveness of the Red Army. He also supposed that Soviet industry and transportation had also suffered great depredations. See Sven Allard, "Stalin und Hitler. Die Sowjetrussische Aussenpolitik, 1930-1941, Borni [phonetic] 1974, p 84.

27. Soviet Union Ministry of Foreign Affairs publication, "Documents and Materials from the Eve of World War II," vol 2, Moscow, 1948, Chinese translation, pp 65-70, 92-95 and 118-132.

Hitler capitalized on the evil consequences for Anglo-Soviet relations of Chamberlain's promotion of a policy of appeasement; he capitalized on the half-hearted and indifferent attitude of England and France toward talks with the Soviet Union; and he capitalized on the consequent Soviet lack of confidence in Britain and France to bring about a gradual readjustment in diplomatic activity relating to German-Soviet relations. These diplomatic contacts between Germany and the Soviet Union began at the end of 1938 in the wake of the Munich Conference and were first conducted by rather low ranking officers working on economic trade matters between the two countries. At this time, both the German Government and press greatly reduced their media and propaganda attacks on the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union also adopted reciprocal measures. The actions of both sides were extremely cautious. On 23 May 1939, Hitler convened a secret meeting of his military chiefs and decided to fight "a decisive life and death war of existence or extinction," and German foreign relations with the Soviet Union began to take an upward turn. At this time, Ribbentrop directed his subordinates that the Fuehrer wanted to establish more tolerable relations between Germany and the Soviet Union.²⁸

So it was that during the summer of 1939 Europe frantically launched three sets of triangular bilateral talks. One set was formal talks between the Soviet Union and Great Britain (and France) held in Moscow; a second was secret talks conducted between England and Germany in London; and the third was talks between Germany and the Soviet Union. Involved in this triangular diplomatic process were the British and French governments still headed by Chamberlain and Daladier, which in their talks with the Soviet Union about an alliance exhibited half-heartedness, delay and hesitation; though their talks with Germany were vague, they were still not dead. Hitler acted otherwise. After the military conference opened at Upper Salzburg on 14 August, he placed very high stakes in order to avoid having enemies on two fronts once the war was launched, completely agreeing to the very high conditions put forward by the Soviet Union as the price for guaranteeing his own security. As a result, in less than 10 days during the latter part of August, the Soviet-German talks progressed very quickly, and Ribbentrop flew to Moscow where the Soviet-German Mutual Non-Aggression Pact was successfully signed.

The signing of the Soviet-German Mutual Non-Aggression Pact was of benefit at the time in guaranteeing the security of the Soviet Union. Though it may not be said to have been a model in the use of imperialist contradictions, neither can it be said to have been a great victory for Soviet diplomacy during the peace of the 1930's. But it was a diplomatic choice that in the complex international environment of the time the Soviet Union had no choice but to make. Responsible for this state of affairs had been the Anglo-French policy of appeasement. If one were to say that the chief culprit in the launching of World War II was Hitler, then it was the British

28. William L. Shirer, op. cit. p 914.

and French governments of the time who helped Hitler at every turn and thereby hastened the advent of the war. Some western students and propagandists place responsibility for the final outbreak of World War II on the Soviet signing of this treaty, but we should firmly refute this. However, for the summarization of historical experience as well as for the study of both how the outbreak of a world war might better have been delayed, and the foreign policy and actions of the socialist Soviet Union, exploration and elaboration based on the facts should not be discouraged.

9432

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

PAKISTANI ON NATIONAL DEFENSE--Islamabad, February 24 (XINHUA)--A tribal leader of North Waziristan, Malik Jehangir Khan has reiterated the tribesmen's resolve to offer sacrifice for Pakistan's security and stability, the PAKISTAN TIMES reports today. In a statement issued in Peshawar yesterday, he said that the seven million tribesmen from Chitral to Mekran had always been in the forefront to safeguard the frontiers of their beloved country, and they were once again ready to meet any eventualities caused by Russia's intervention in Afghanistan. He, however, demanded that the West and the Muslim countries provide sufficient quantity of modern military hardware to Pakistan to enable her to meet the threat. Malik Jehangir Khan categorically denied the existence of any training camps for Afghan guerrillas in Pakistan and said that whatever struggle the Afghan freedom fighters were carrying on against the Soviet aggressors and their sponsored regime in Kabul was entirely of their own. [Text] [OW241258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1225 GMT 24 Feb 80 OW]

ISTANBUL TERRORISTS' THREATS--Ankara, February 15 (XINHUA)--Istanbul, the biggest city in Turkey, looked like a deserted city as thousands of shops remained closed because of threats of "terrorist retaliation by leftist militants," according to press here today. Hundreds of privately-owned shops were closed in the downtown sectors while troops stood guard at key junctions. Jewellers and leather shops in the glittering Covered Bazar were closed despite assurances from patrolling soldiers that they are prepared to prevent any attacks. Even vendors disappeared from some areas. Only banks in downtown Istanbul remained opened but there were hardly any customers. The press said, "Leaflets dropped by the roaming bands of extremists, mostly youths, claimed to resort to 'bombing and other revolutionary acts' if shopowners ignored their calls." The DAILY NEWS here said today, "It was the latest in a week-long campaign of threats staged by leftist militants" against the government. Sources from the security department said a total of forty-three persons were seized yesterday in Istanbul on charge of "disrupting public order by threats and sabotage." [Text] [OW152004 Beijing XINHUA in English 1912 GMT 15 Feb 80 OW]

VENEZUELA DECRIMS CUBAN ARSENAL--Caracas, February 8 (XINHUA)--Cuba has become a Soviet arsenal and the offensive power of the Cuban armed forces poses a threat to the American Continent, says an article in the latest issue of the Venezuelan review ZETA. The article notes that modern arms are kept in this arsenal. "The Caribbean, Central America, the Panama Canal, Colombia, Venezuela and the eastern cost of the United States are all within reach of Cuban strategic weapons." "Out of the over 4,000 million U.S. dollars Cuba costs to the U.S.S.R., 1,600 million are earmarked for military expenditures. Over 10,000 Soviets are stationed in Cuba. At least one-third of them are serving in military departments. The contingent known as 'combat brigade' consists of 2,500 men," it adds. [Text] [OW091234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1216 GMT 9 Feb 80 OW]

SOVIET, CUBAN PLOT DISCUSSED--San Jose, February 9 (XINHUA)--The Costa Rican paper LA NACION, in an editorial today, calls for "foiling the Soviet and Cuban plot to turn Central America into a future base in the service of social-imperialism." The editorial, entitled "The Shadow of Cuba Looms Over the Caribbean," says Fidel Castro hopes that the social change in the Caribbean will develop in a direction "not only inspired by the Soviet Union but also rendered to be pro-Soviet in the hope of making use of the common markets in this region to alleviate Cuba's burdens caused by its economic failures and an existing stagnant economy. "On the other hand," the paper continues, "Cuba's direct dependence on the Soviet Union and its economic burdens resulting from the severe economic surversion it has failed to rid itself of in the past two decades will be offset through the possible expansion of the bases in the Caribbean and Central America, a move of great political importance." In face of such a reality, the editorial stresses, countries in the Western Hemisphere, proceeding from respect for self-determination and the principle of non-interference should offer cooperation with the Caribbean countries so as to foil the Soviet and Cuban plot. [Text] [OW101548 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 10 Feb 80 OW]

JAPAN ADVOCATES MID-EAST STABILITY--Tokyo, February 19 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira said yesterday that Japan would play a role in promoting the peace and stability in the Middle East, according to a KYODO report. He made the promise to Omar Zawwui, adviser to the Sultan of Oman, who is paying a visit to Japan. Japanese paper YOMIURI SHIMBUN reported today that during his meeting with the Omani adviser yesterday, Foreign Minister Saburo Okita said: "The peace and stability in the Middle East is essential to Japan." Zawwui said that located in the Hormuz Strait in the Persian Gulf, Oman "is following a policy to keep the strait open at all times. Therefore, its military spending is enormous." He added that Oman "is discussing with the United States the use of Omani facilities by the U.S." [Text] [OW190844 Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 19 Feb 80 OW]

PORtUGUESE WORKERS PROTEST ECONOMY--Lisbon, February 15 (XINHUA)--Several thousand Portuguese working people held demonstrations and mass rallies here last night in protest against rising prices and other economic measures taken by the government recently. According to the Portuguese News Agency, protest demonstrations and rallies were also held the same day in the second largest city Porto and the southern cities of Beira and Evora. These activities were organized by the General Confederation of Portuguese Labourers. In the past few days, the confederation has organized strikes in state-owned enterprises throughout the country in an attempt to exert pressure on the government. Since February 11 the Portuguese air traffic has been paralyzed owing to the strikes held by the dispatchers of the airports all over the country. The dispatchers pressed for wage increases and shorter working hours. They declared that if their demands are not satisfied within this week, they will continue to walk out. [Text] [OW151858 Beijing XINHUA in English 1849 GMT 15 Feb 80 OW]

CSO: 4020

PARTY AND STATE

PUNISHMENT OF FALSE ACCUSERS URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Nov 79 p 3

[Article by Zhang Jinfan [1728 2516 5672]: "The Punishment of False Accusations—Past and Present"]

[Text] Article No 138 of our Criminal Code stipulates: "It is strictly forbidden to incriminate the cadres and people by means of false accusations. Those who make up stories and falsely accuse and incriminate others (including convicts) should be subject to criminal sanction in accordance with the nature, facts and consequences of false accusations and the scale of punishment. All government personnel who have committed the crime of false accusation should receive double punishment." This article was stipulated on the basis of having summed up the past experiences at home and abroad, especially having drawn our bitter lessons from the wanton false accusations of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who disrupted our legal system and massacred the people. It reflects the will and demand of the broad masses of the people, and is of exceedingly important practical significance in putting an end to crimes of making false accusations in retaliation, strengthening the people's concept of the legal system and restoring our social mood, which was seriously vitiated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

As false accusations are trumped up for vengeance and self interests to incriminate innocent people, they not only directly do harm to the victims but also interfere with social order, disrupt the activity of the judicial organ and do not serve the interests of the rule of the ruling class. For this reason, all criminal codes of China and the foreign countries, at present and in the past, set out articles and special chapters for the punishment of false accusers. At the same time, as the false accusers have their evil motives and violate the elementary social ethics, they are always denounced widely by public opinion.

In the Laws of the Qin dynasty, excavated in Yunmeng County of Hubei Province, there were stipulations on the punishment of false accusations. In the Han dynasty, there were crimes of "false accusation and deception" and "instigating one to make false accusation" and the so-called punishment

of "arresting the false accuser to receive punishment according to his accusation." In the Yonghui Law of the Tang dynasty, a representative feudal code, the principle of sentencing the accuser to the punishment facing the person he falsely accused was further specified in various articles. In the "Great Ming Law" and "Great Qing Law," the stipulations for punishing false accusations were used to maintain the foundation of the rule of the landlord class and social order, which claimed "to convince the people and enforce the imperial law so that all mad false accusers will be somewhat scrupulous, and the innocent and good people will not be tragically victimized." ("Da-Qing Lu-Li Tong-Kao" [Great Qing Legal Bulletin])

After the founding of the Chinese Republic, the Beiyang warlords' government promulgated "The Provisional New Criminal Law" which enumerated perjury and false accusation in a special chapter in order to protect the order of the rule of the landlord-comprador class.

Though special articles and chapters of sentencing accusers to the punishment facing persons they falsely accused were listed in the criminal laws of the exploiting classes, they could not bind the hands of the reactionary rulers in framing cases against their opponents and the revolutionaries. The laws of exploiting classes were always supplemented with their peremptory actions beyond the law.

In the course of the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the revolutionary base had set up the people's democratic political power and legal system. To protect the interests of the revolutionary people, and to give a blow to the acts of endangering social order and disrupting the normal activities of the judicial organ, the principle of sentencing accusers to the punishment facing persons they falsely accused was also enforced. As early as in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War, in the "Resolution on the Elimination of Corrupt Officials and Local Tyrants and Evil Gentry in Hunan Province," it took "sabotaging peasant associations and framing the association members" as one of the main crimes of the local tyrants and evil gentry, and punished them very severely.

During the period of the War of Resistance Against Japan, it was stipulated in the "Rules on the Punishment of Traitors in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region" that those who falsely accused others of being traitors should be sentenced to imprisonment or death according to circumstances of their cases, and all their possessions should be confiscated, or fines be imposed on them. The "Rules on the Punishment of Corruption in the Shanxi-Qahar-Hebei-Henan Region" also stipulated: "Those who have violated the rules by falsely accusing or incriminating others should be dealt with severely according to the stipulations of the criminal law."

During the period of the War of Liberation, the "Provisional Rules on the Punishment of Corruption in the Northeast Liberated Area" stated clearly

that "those who falsely accused or willfully involved others may be sentenced to the punishment facing persons they accused or involved." The provisional rules on the punishment of those who undermined the land reform in the Shanxi-Hebei-Shandong-Henan Region had stipulated that "those who have committed crimes specified in these rules by framing and falsely accusing others should be punished according to the specified crimes."

In certain laws promulgated after the liberation of the whole country, there were also similar stipulations. For example, Rule No 19 of the "Rules for the Punishment of Counterrevolutionaries of the People's Republic of China" stated: "Everybody has the right to expose counterrevolutionary criminals and give the information to the People's Government; however, nobody is allowed to make false accusation in retaliation."

In short, opposing the action of false accusation, making the accusers criminally responsible and punishing them according to the criminal law constitute the consistent stand of our people's democratic legal system, which have played a positive role in protecting the people, cracking down on violation of the law, defending the prestige of the people's judicial organ and maintaining the morality and prevailing custom of the society.

It should be specially pointed out that in those years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were tyrannizing the country and perpetrating outrages, being actuated by the vicious scheme of eliminating obstacles in their way of usurping the party and seizing power, they frantically played the tricks of cooking up charges and making false accusations, spoke and acted on hearsay evidence, gave strained interpretations and drew farfetched analogies, freely framed and persecuted the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and the broad cadres and masses, and glossed over and gave publicity to such extremely dirty crimes with their ultra-left revolutionary slogans. As a result, a phenomenon appeared that false accusations became a credit instead of being a crime, and that right and wrong were confused. Those who crazed for power toed the line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and extremely shamelessly used false accusations as the means of flattery and quick promotion. At once, false accusation became the fashion, cases of injustice piled up, law and discipline were sabotaged, and the morality was lost. It was unprecedented in the history of our nation. The extent of damage done was so deep and wide, and the consequences were so serious. This lesson of blood made the broad masses of people cry out from the bottom of their hearts that false accusations must be punished. To eliminate the evil influence, bring order out of chaos, enforce the revolutionary legal system and correct the social mood, carrying out the principle of punishing false accusations is of exceedingly important and practical significance, which the whole country will support and will win great popularity among the people. It fully explains that the socialist law is "born together with the will of the people and initiated by the will of the people," and "becomes the conscious expression of the people's will." (Marx: "On the Draft of the Divorce Law," "The Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 184)

While carrying out the principle of punishing false accusations, we must make a strict distinction between willfully making false accusations and properly exercising the legal right of informing against, exposing, charging and criticizing government cadres. The former proceeds purely from evil motives, the latter sometimes may have discrepancies, being handicapped by the lack of knowledge; however, these two have different objectives and are different in nature, and should not be looked at and punished in the same way. Of course, still less should we worry about being guilty of false accusation and be afraid of punishment and, thus, refuse to make solemn and responsible charges against crimes on concrete evidences, which harm the interests of our country and people.

9039

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PERIODIC ROTATIONAL CADRE TRAINING EMPHASIZED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Dec 79 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Keep Up the Work of Training Cadres in Rotation"]

[Text] It is a broadly based and deepgoing revolution to achieve the great strategic shift in the focus of building a powerful socialist country through the four modernizations. This unprecedented revolution has raised a series of new tasks, new situations and new problems to be studied and resolved by our cadres at all levels, especially by leading cadres. Thus, to conform with such needs, the planned task of training and educating cadres to solidly improve their ideological and performance levels is not only the pressing obligation of realizing the four modernizations, but also a crying need to bring order out of chaos, and to carry forward the revolutionary cause while forging ahead into the future.

Cadres are a decisive factor once the political line is determined. It has been a fine tradition of our party to conscientiously train cadres in rotation, and the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao have always taken this task very seriously. Many veteran cadres may as well look back for a moment: During the years of revolutionary war, although the fighting tasks were very frequent, the circumstances very difficult and the conditions very tough, our party was conscientiously attentive to the task of training cadres in rotation. Chairman Mao personally exercised leadership in running the party schools and the Kang Da [the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College], and leading cadres of the party Central Committee personally gave lectures in trying to foster talents. Providing training in various base areas, all kinds of cadre schools and branch schools enabled innumerable outstanding cadres and a good cross section of talent to command fighting and to organize political power while serving as the mainstay of various bases and the People's Army under the guidance of the party Central Committee, and making contributions towards the revolutionary war. During this new period of history, to shift the focus of work of the whole party and to win the first battle in advancing towards the four modernizations, it is imperative to strengthen our cadres organizationally and ideologically with a view to gradually building a contingent of cadres for positively

advancing towards the four modernizations. The interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have caused much confusion in the people's minds these days, and the rights and wrongs of many issues have become confounded; besides, we are still under the effects of feudalistic concepts and small producers' force of habit. Consequently, in the course of realizing the four modernizations, outdated ideas and force of habit inevitably do not fit the new situation. By no means can such a difficult task be fulfilled if we fail to keep up with the work of training cadres. Just think: some comrades can't even clearly distinguish socialism from capitalism, and they often criticize socialism as if it was capitalism. How then can the initiative of the masses be heightened? Quite a few comrades do not understand commodity economy or the law of value; so how can production be developed? Many comrades have only a slight knowledge of agricultural production, and they know nothing about industry and commerce, how can we insure the realization of diversified economy or integrated complex of agriculture, industry and commerce or expanded reproduction or mechanization of agriculture? Things of this sort need not be enumerated here one by one. In short, we lack knowledge, and our subjective knowledge is diametrically opposed to the cause of the four modernizations. In order to keep our subjective knowledge in line with objective requirements, it is imperative to organize our cadres into groups for "restudying" to thoroughly rid their minds of all sorts of erroneous thoughts and outdated ideas for a major ideological reorientation. This is to use the party's general line to unify the thinking and action of all the cadres so that everyone will work energetically with one mind and one heart to understand and change the world by actually adopting the ideological line of dialectical materialism as well as the world outlook of historical materialism, thereby doing their level best to conscientiously carry forward the cause of the four modernizations.

The major problem facing us today is to enable existing cadres to meet the requirements of the cause of the four modernizations. At present, among the leading groups of many departments and units there are a great many cadres with rich revolutionary and construction experiences. However, to build socialist modernization is a new task just the same even to these comrades because many of them do not possess sufficient scientific and management knowledge for administering the socialist modernized enterprises; very few of them, particularly among leading cadres, have a good grasp of technical and professional knowledge; and there has been a gradually increased number of comrades that are old and infirm. Therefore, from now on, we will have to attend most closely to the task of training cadres in rotation, and we will make conscientious efforts to train and select successors so as to strengthen our leading groups. Some leading cadres do not want to send their own cadres to receive periodic training, and they argue: "Distant water cannot quench a present thirst." It must be noted that if everybody's thinking is not integrated with the party's political line, that is, if the problem of the ideological line has not been well resolved, and our leadership level cannot be speedily heightened, how can we ever expect to quench our "present thirst!" We communists must have our eyes on the future, and must take the whole situation into account in resolving all problems; with firm

resolve and unswerving efforts, we must conscientiously maintain the task of training cadres in rotation from now on. And in this respect, party schools and cadre schools at various levels must take it as their bounden duty to fulfill this task as an important mission. While conscientiously securing in-service training for their existing cadres, party committees at all levels must, as geared to the actual needs of their own systems, departments or units in positively marching towards the four modernizations, devise plans and adopt various measures to insure that all their cadres from bottom to top will receive training in rotation within a definite period of time to study politics, job-related courses and technical skills for a complete comprehension of the party's political and ideological lines, thus bringing up a contingent of cadres that will not only be familiar with the party's line and principles of the new period as well as their respective vocational work, but also rich in creative initiative and able to link themselves with the masses. This demonstrates not only a task posed by history but also our greatest concern and affection for our cadres!

In training cadres in rotation, we must, first of all, insure the proper periodic training for the core of leadership at all levels, especially for those that are first, second and third in command. Top leading cadres in all the departments, committees and offices as well as the secretaries, directors and chiefs of all the districts, countries and bureaus should all take the lead in attending training in rotation. They must not be absent with the excuse of being too occupied with their office work. Actually, being away from their offices for a period of time will not effect their work. On the contrary, it will be of great benefit in improving their ideological and performance levels through a period of systematic studies whereby they will be able to conscientiously sum up their work and correct their ideological line. We hope that all units will make such plans as to enable their top leading cadres to receive training by stages and in groups. The leading cadres at various grassroots levels, including those above the factories, enterprises and production brigades, should all attend training in rotation. Various districts, countries and bureaus should work out such plans respectively to insure periodic training for their cadres by stages and in groups.

In assigning cadres to receive training in rotation, attention must also be paid to selecting some middle-aged and young people that are in their thirties and forties. All districts, countries and bureaus should be resolved to bring up a contingent of middle-aged and young cadres by sending their people to study at various party schools and cadre schools based on their own name lists. Training of successors is a matter of fundamental importance which must be effectively carried through.

While providing cadres with training in rotation, we must not neglect training for the cadres of the Communist Youth League. Full operation of the Communist Youth League schools must be promptly resumed so as to bring up qualified League cadres in a planned way. Experience of our party history proves: The Communist Youth League is a very good school for training cadres. At

present, revolutionary cadres of the older generation are gradually being decreased in number through natural law. Thus, it will be the task of our younger generation to carry on the cause of communism as well as our party's fine traditions. And in this regard, it will be the glorious duty of veteran cadres to see that this is done. Should we neglect to do a good job in running the Communist Youth League and in training youngsters, thus failing to bring up qualified successors, how can we set our minds at ease when we meet Marx in the future? And what can we report to Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou?

9442

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'GENERATION GAP' OBVIOUS IN CHINA TODAY

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI in Chinese No 12, Dec 79 pp 7-8

[Article by Wei Ming [2607 0682]: "The Generation Gap"]

[Text] During the 1960's, the term "generation gap" prevailed in the United States. This term seems applicable to China's cities today--particularly to the families of the cadres and the intellectuals.

What are the gaps? Ideology, lifestyle, work style, learning attitudes, entertainment, fashions.... Too many to enumerate! Someone may say, "The young are always different from the old. How can you expect them to be the same?" But with the passage of time, the generation gap among the urban people has undergone dramatic changes. Let me talk about two things:

1. Concept of the party and the system. Not only the old Chinese Communist cadres but the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals as well, after living through the two different regimes of the Goumindang and the Communists, are very clear as to which regime is superior. They witnessed and experienced the contrasts between corruption and progress in politics, between destitution and development in the economy, between turbulent chaos and stable unification, and between famine and abundance. They finally chose to follow the Communist Party and believed in the socialist road. Although they encountered obstacles, they maintained their loyalty. During the years 1958 and 1959, the intellectuals relied even more heavily on the party and tried to get the party's trust. Similarly, the party needed to mitigate its contradictions with the intellectuals after the struggle against the extreme rightists. Therefore, a host of old intellectuals, including many noted personages, joined the party. Who could have expected that there was no insurance in this? In those turbulent 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, the intellectuals, especially the old intellectuals, suffered tremendously and were even referred to as the stinking ninth elements. But the majority silently endured humiliations to carry out important missions and, under extremely difficult conditions, secretly continued their academic research. This was because, in addition to the traditional patience of the Chinese people, they had an

ultimate perception, which was that the Communist Party is far superior to the Guomindang, even if it had committed major errors, and that socialism is superior to capitalism, even if it had many shortcomings. Because of this, as soon as the gang of four was smashed and the treatment for the intellectuals improved, a lot of "old jerks" did something puzzling to today's youths--they joined the party. There were Xu Dehang [6079 1795 3801] in the political circle and Tong Dizhou [4547 4574 0719] in the scientific circle. It was said that, in the literary circles, the renowned translator Yang Yixian [2799 2009 4135] has applied for party membership and will be accepted.

The younger generation was surprised by the older generation's behavior. Because their experience have been just the opposite, they have no perceptual knowledge of the old China. As soon as they stepped into society, they got caught in the whirlpool of the Cultural Revolution. One policy of the Cultural Revolution was to assist the young and discard the old. This just fitted the enthusiasm and simplicity of the youths. Large batches of youths rushed to join the party and were promoted to cadres like rockets. In the process, some took a chance and came into power, but the majority saw through the phony and empty theories and the ugliness of the political tricks. Therefore, as soon as the ultra-leftists collapsed, they immediately discarded what had been promoted in the Cultural Revolution. Some even publicly declared that they did not believe in Communism or Mao Zedong Thought. Those who had already joined the party were disgusted. Those who had not joined the party naturally did not bother to ask. Some who were interested in politics became "democratic warriors." But most of them dedicated themselves to family life, new fashions, and broad recreations.

In general, the idealism of yesterday's youths became today's realism.

2. Concept of the Fatherland. The old generation all experienced China's semicolonial society, when its international status was low, the government was slavishly dependent on others to borrow money for civil war, and overseas Chinese were discriminated against. In the 30 years of Chinese Communist rule, China has become a powerful figure in the world political arena. Big powers of the past all look at China with new eyes and no longer look down on us. This has greatly boosted our morale. Our country is poor, but "it is our own country." Starting from this concept, when the republic was founded, a group of renowned overseas scholars gave up their comfortable livelihood and excellent research conditions and returned to their fatherland to exert their efforts for the prosperity of the fatherland. The majority of overseas Chinese, although still living abroad, were always concerned about their hometowns and often came back to visit.

The younger generation grew up in the Cultural Revolution, when China was completely cut off from the outside world. As soon as the door was opened, they felt that everything was inferior to foreign countries and

and that China was too backward and too poor. Therefore they tried to imitate foreign lifestyles and compete to go abroad to study. The best thing would be permanently staying abroad. Foreign relations, neglected during the Cultural Revolution, became open. The daughter of a certain authoritative Communist theorist once said that as long as she could go abroad, she was willing to be a refugee and to give up her party membership. These words, to a certain extent, reflect the mental outlook of this generation.

Regarding today's "common tendency of going abroad," not only the old intellectuals who studied in England or the United States during the 1930's and 1940's but also those who studied in Russia during the 1950's are resentful. A woman with a Ph.D. degree from Russia said indignantly, "We were criticized as receiving a revisionist education. At least we had national consciousness. At first, people looked down on us and didn't think we could succeed in our studies. We held our breath and wanted to show them we could. Our allowances from foreign exchange were all spent on the purchase of books. We spent our Sundays in the library. Finally, they had to recognize our achievements. When our own country is poor, we should love her even more and try to make her rich. Of all the students studying in Russia, there were only two who betrayed their country. Look now...."

This narrative also reflects the differences of the results in the ideological education of Chinese Communists between the 1950's, the 1960's, and the 1970's.

For the youths with scars from the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Communists promote industrious study and encourage them with materialistic rewards on the one hand, and persist in the four principles and appeal to them to serve the party and the country on the other. How can these be reconciled, there is no clue at present.

8953
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MASSES CRITICAL OF PRIVILEGES OF CADRES' FAMILIES

Hong Kong QISHI NIANDAI in Chinese No 12, Dec 79 pp 8-9

[Article by Mo Ming [5459 2494]: "Enlisting in the PLA, Enrolling in a University, and Going Abroad--The Route Followed by Cadres' Children in the Past 10 Years"]

[Text] Recently complaints are heard everywhere in China. What are the complaints? Inflation, crowded dwellings, the high cost of living, and impractical policies. But most complaints are aimed at the special privileges of the cadres. The general idea of the people is that if everyone is well off, it is not too serious for someone to enjoy some privileges. But when the people all live in poverty, all that [the cadres] care is that they eat and drink extravagantly. How can people not complain? Not too long ago in Beijing, there were several conspicuous incidents. One was the demonstration of People's University students protesting the troops forcibly occupying the campus. The dining hall at the school is already small for the 1,000 students, but scores of troops who are ballplayers use the dining hall for practice, despite the students' being forced to "eat in the wind." They almost have to "sleep in the dew." The second incident was that the students of Beijing University gave a "warm send-off party" to Zhou Lin [0719 2651], who was leaving school. Prior to the Cultural Revolution, Zhou Lin had been the First Secretary of the Guizhou Provincial CCP. After the downfall of the "gang of four," he was reassigned as First Secretary of the Beijing University CCP and Vice President. The masses placed great hopes in him. But what he had done was disappointing. In the first place, as a layman in a top position, he did not know the conditions at the lower levels. In the second place, he abused his privileges. He had brought with him a group of Guizhou clansmen. Not only were the key positions of the university occupied by the Guizhou clansmen, but their relatives, in-laws, even their children's nurses all swarmed into the university. On the other hand, many faculty could not have their families with them because of housing shortages. No wonder Zhou Lin received a "warm sendoff party."

As the saying goes, "Thick ice is not formed by one cold day." The privileges of the Chinese Communist cadres were not formed in one day.

The old topic was recently brought up in a meeting for discussion at one university. Some students spoke up and said, "The privileges of the cadres today explain that the launching of the Cultural Revolution was not without cause. But the privileges have become even greater as a result."

The common people of China have another perception: The founding members of the CCP are heroes of the republic; it is justifiable for them to have some privileges. But toward their sons and daughters, who haven't made any contribution and only rely on their fathers' power and position to do as they wish with no restraint, naturally the common people are furious.

Of the disasters caused by the Communist cadres, these are the high-ranking cadres whose sons and daughters enjoy special privileges. There are some qualifications that those fathers must have. In terms of party seniority, they must have joined the party before 1938. They are considered in an even higher category if they joined the Long March or the Red Army. In terms of rank or grade, they should be the 13th or higher. They are in an even higher category if they are in the 7th or higher grade. In terms of position, they should be the heads of bureau, district, and division. They are in an even higher category if they are the heads of ministry, province, and army corps. The nucleus of the nucleus are the committee members of the Political Bureau, the Vice Premiers, and the general secretary of the committee.

Before the Cultural Revolution, the privileges of the cadres' children were not too obvious. By and large, they followed the rules and regulations. When the Cultural Revolution became chaotic, the situation changed drastically. Everything had to start from the beginning. Thereupon, new roads were opened up from the late 1960's to the late 1970's:

Late 1960's--Enlisting in the PLA.

Early 1970's--Enrolling in a university.

Late 1970's--Going abroad.

Toward the end of the 1960's, the movement of educated urban youth working in the countryside and mountain areas advanced on a great scale. Thousands and thousands of high school students from the chaotic schools into the poor countryside. In order to get away from this movement at that time, the sons and daughters of most of the cadres chose to join the army. Since the Cultural Revolution, the army had been a haven. Many important Chinese Communist cadres hid in the army in order to avoid the "mass struggle." The two generations of fathers and sons both realized that, first, the army was a secure place; some of the commanding officers, army and division commanders were the comrades of their fathers and would give them preferential treatment. There would be no problem for them to join the party and be promoted to cadres. Secondly, the salary was excellent. They would be financially secure. They did not have to worry about

living in hunger and cold, as those who worked in the countryside and mountain areas did. As soon as they were demobilized and transferred to civilian work, they also had job security. As for joining the army, all that most of them needed was a telephone call, a letter, or a few good words from their fathers or some old comrades; the sons and daughters then could become the glorious members of the strong pillars of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As for the military cadres' own children, they monopolized almost everything. After joining the army, those young masters tried very hard to be office soldiers, technical soldiers, logistics soldiers, or three-line soldiers. These jobs are easy, clean, safe and, best of all, they could learn skills. Those young girls, also, tried by every possible means to squeeze into the three well-known military medical schools located in Shanghai, Xi'an and Chongqing. This was the most ideal situation from every aspect. As a result, from 70 to 80 percent of the students at these three medical schools were the children of the cadres. At that time, the military was the loftiest profession. The common people all turned their envious eyes on those youngsters in green uniform wandering in the streets. On the one side, those who originally were well off obtained another measure of political and financial security. On the other side, those who were already in straitened circumstances had to give allowances to their children who were working in the countryside and had to always worry about them.

The practice of joining the army through the back door continued, off and on, to early 1977. But the mainstream underwent some changes in the early 1970's.

The situation changed again in the early 1970's. Universities were re-opened to enroll students. Starting from 1970, and from 1972 through 1976, the children of the workers, farmers, and soldiers enrolled in the universities. The poor parents once again had to go through all the headaches and tried to put their children in this new area. Obviously, universities were much superior to the army. Besides, workers, farmers, and soldiers did not have to take entrance examinations to get in. What they needed was a letter of recommendation. This was naturally a great convenience for those who tried to use the back door to get in. Those who occasionally worked in the rural areas were the first admitted to the universities. Why? Because the common people in the rural areas had never seen a VIP before. Whoever were from the VIP's family were considered special people, whether their old man was a reactionary or a capitalist-roader. Furthermore, the cadres' children had direct access to the highest authorities; they had given important assistance to the village, such as tractors, automobiles, and every type of equipment that was continuously provided. Any transaction, therefore, could be carried out smoothly. In the military, the question of who should go to college was not actually determined by recommendations, but was assigned by the higher echelons. It was obvious who would be assigned. Some did encounter trouble. They simply took a risk to get out of the military and work in the village;

then they used the village as a springboard to college. Similarly, in the Construction Corps (state farms) there were too many school graduates. To be recommended to college was as hard as to be elected President. Therefore, some simply went to the village. After all, there were relatively fewer school graduates in the village.

Under this situation, the nation's well-known universities became congregation centers of young people from the new aristocratic families. In early 1974 the gang of four attempted to make an issue of the problem of admission to college through the back door. Suddenly the children of the cadres became indignant and worried. Mao Zedong realized that too many people had been involved and that there was no possible way to solve the problem. He then issued an important but specious and pointless directive to the effect that "there are also bad people from the front door as well as good people from the back door." The matter was dropped.

In 1972 the Chinese Communists started to open their doors to foreign countries. There was a small group of students going abroad to study. The great rush to study abroad did not take place until the downfall of the gang of four. The new tide caught the parents off guard. Who could have expected that the world once again belongs to the intellectuals? The "stinking ninth elements" almost became the "fragrant first elements." If it had been known that things would turn out this way, why bother in the first place? Some had to start from the beginning. Well, "there is always a way out." For example, in the first group of students going abroad to study, there was the daughter of a certain vice chairman of the National Designing Committee jumping out of the military and flying to London. Despite the objection of her powerless company commander, who refused to put his signature on her papers, she still made it because of her special background. Going abroad to study at that time was also based mainly on political standards instead of scholarship. Naturally this was a key to the door of favoritism. As window dressing, some loyal and reliable people, such as fifth-generation farmers and third-generation workers, were selected to go abroad together. Comically, some politically reliable students defected and others did not pass their tests. People were simply amazed and speechless.

But now, one must take rigorous examinations in order to study abroad. This new regulation of Deng Xiaoping's has actually entrapped his own people. The students who have passed are studious children of the "ninth elements." Most of the cadres have neither learning nor skills. The son of a certain chairman of the General Political Department took a graduate school entrance examination. Even after being prompted, his average score was just over 30. Many people have Japanese-made tape recorders, have the newest textbooks from England, America, and Hong Kong, and have even hired private tutors in order to compete. Despite all the superior conditions, they are, after all, playboys with undeserved reputation. They always cannot pass foreign languages and math exams.

Several new roads have been formed under these circumstances:

1. Relying on power and influence, they work in offices located in foreign countries. This is limited to the children of the few top personnel.
2. They exert every effort to study a foreign language, and then try to work in the organs of foreign affairs so they can eventually go abroad. Now, the children of some cadres are auditing in the Foreign Languages Department of Beijing University. This is to pave the way for their future.
3. They grasp every possible chance to go abroad for a visit. This is also a delightful experience. Liao Gongchuan [1675 0361 5307] went on a tour this year.
4. Even if they cannot go overseas, they should get into some unit that deals with foreigners, such as travel agencies, in order to get foreign goods.
5. One can try to study abroad at his own expense. It is said that several people with "bachelor's degrees" who come from rich families have already gone to the United States to study.

After 10 years of evolution, the social situations have drastically changed. The once-adverse foreign relationship is the focus of world attention. The children of yesterday's capitalists have become rich people after receiving the legacy from the previous generation. The children of those cadres who don't have overseas connections or very much money have only some privileges as their weapon. How the privileges will develop and evolve in the 1980's and what kind of new tricks they will play, the author has no way to predict.

8593
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PARTY AND STATE

INVESTIGATION OF MAJOR CONTRADICTIONS URGED

Beijing XINHUA YUEBAO [Digest Edition] in Chinese No 8, 1979 pp 29-31

[Article by Jin Hui [6855 6540]: "On Several Problems Concerning the Understanding of Principal Contradictions," condensed from JIEFANGJUN BAO, 13 July 1979]

[Text] 1. Are the major contradictions of every society always class contradictions?

There is a school of thought that believes that every society prior to the socialist society--the slave society, feudal society, and the capitalist society--all have a major class contradiction that runs throughout it from the beginning to the end. This contradiction will never change as long as this particular society lasts. Therefore, the socialist society also has a class contradiction, that is the contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalist classes. This contradiction runs from the beginning to the end of the society, and as long as that society exists, that contradiction will never change. This is a metaphysical view.

First of all, the three societies prior to the socialist society all had changing contradictions. Actually, the contradiction between the slaveholders and the slaves in the slave society, the contradiction between the landlord class and the peasants in the feudal society, and the contradiction between the capitalist class and the proletariat in the capitalist society existed throughout the process of the historical development of the respective societies. They were usually the major contradiction of the respective societies. However, they were not always the major contradictions. For example, during times of invasions by outside tribes, contradictions between nationalities became the major contradiction. As another example, at the end of the slave society, the contradiction between the new landlord class and the slaveholder class became the major contradiction. At the end of the feudal society, during the capitalist revolution, the contradiction between the capitalists and the feudal classes became the major contradiction. The theory that the major contradictions are consistent throughout a society and do not change is not at all consistent with the facts of history.

The situation is even more to the contrary in the socialist society. The process of the socialist revolution is a process of class elimination. In the socialist society, from the very start the capitalists have lost their position of control. Immediately afterward they also lost the economic basis for their existence and exploitation--the capitalist ownership of the means of production. If we say that prior to the socialization of the means of production, the capitalists existed as a class, and that the contradiction between the capitalists and the proletariat was the major contradiction of the society, then after the means of production were basically socialized and the fixed interest had been stopped and the capitalists had undergone thorough reform, the capitalists no longer existed as a class. Naturally, the contradiction between the remnants of the capitalists and the proletariat and the effects of the former will exist for a long time. However, it clearly cannot be the "major contradiction" which continues "throughout" the entire society.

The major contradiction in the socialist society is not always a class contradiction. This is determined by the nature of the socialist society, because the socialist society is one which is changing from a class to a classless society. This change will emerge after undergoing a number of different developmental stages. Each stage of development will naturally have its own major contradiction. In some of the stages the major contradiction may be a class contradiction, while in others this will not be the major contradiction. This is very clear reasoning. We cannot ignore the special characteristics of the socialist society and treat the socialist society as if it were a class society.

2. Can the major contradiction only be found in the relationships between people?

There is another popular belief that the major contradiction in any society can only be found in the relationships between people. That is to say, that it can only be found in production relationships and nowhere else. This is also a onesided view.

For example, some comrades believe that contradictions among the people, primarily between the leaders and the masses and between factory workers and farmers, are the major contradictions in our country at the present time. Their reasoning is that these contradictions are enormous. This viewpoint is obviously improper. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "In the development process of any complicated thing there are many contradictions, and among these there must be one which is the major contradiction which through its own existence and development determines or influences the existence or development of other contradictions." ("The Selected Works of Mao Tsetung" Volume One, page 195.) This tells us that the criterion for determining the major contradiction is that it must determine or influence the "existence or development of the other contradictions," and not be judged simply on how great it is.

Contradictions among the people fall into a broad scope. For example, contradictions exist within the worker class; within the peasant class; between the worker and the peasant classes; between the workers and peasants on one hand and the intellectuals on the other; between the leaders and the masses; and between the workers, peasants, and intellectuals on one hand and other patriots which embrace socialism on the other. There are contradictions between all of these groups. The conditions under which these contradictions exist and the forms in which they appear are very complicated, and they have deep historic roots. Among these contradictions a few could and should be eliminated during the present stage. However, a large portion of these contradictions are based on production levels and attempts to solve them on a person to person level will fail. The only basic way to solve these contradictions is to create a high level of production. Marx and Lenin said: "The reason that there must be advancements in production, and this is absolutely necessary, is that if there is no advancement there will only be universal poverty, and under conditions of extreme poverty, the struggle for necessities must be started all over again, and all of the rotten things will rise from their ashes." (The Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume One, page 39.) Therefore, "our country's production is at a very low stage of advancement and cannot even come close to meeting the needs of the people and the nation." This is the heart of the major contradiction in the present stage, as stated by Hua Guofeng. Therefore, our central task is to "realize the four modernizations in the present generation, quickly raise our country's present low level of production up to modern standards." Naturally, in order to do this, we will have to "reform our country's present production relationships and those sections of the superstructure which are impeding the four modernizations and sweep away all the old practices and influences which are not beneficial to the realization of the four modernizations." This would solve some of the contradictions among the people. However, it is most important that we get a good grasp of construction for the four modernizations and go all out to raise the level of production. This is the basic route toward solving these problems. If one believes that the major contradictions in a society are found in interpersonal relationships, then in the contradiction cycle of production forces and the relations of production, the relations of production is always the major aspect and always has the decisive effect. This is definitely not historical materialism. This is the theory of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that everything is determined by the relations of production. This is the pernicious influence of the theory that one need only grasp revolution and production will "naturally rise by itself," which they preached.

3. When searching for the major contradictions how can one drop the study of the basic contradictions?

When investigating the major contradictions of a society, one must use the scientific methods of Marxism. That is, you must study the society's mode of production and specifically analyze the contradictions between the forces of production and the relation of production of each period of the

society. This is the only way to get to the root of the problem and to reach an accurate conclusion. The contradictions between the forces of production and the relation of production and the contradictions between the economic base and the superstructure are basic contradictions in all human societies--this is the universality of contradictions. However, these two sets of contradictions do not always appear the same way in all societies--this is the individuality of contradictions. In investigating the major contradictions in a period of a society, one must begin by studying the peculiar appearance of the basic contradiction at that time. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" blurred the distinction between the nature of the basic contradictions in the socialist society and the basic contradictions in the capitalist society. They took the nonantagonistic basic contradictions in the socialist society and the antagonistic basic contradictions in the capitalist society to be the same. They thus came up with the fallacy that the major contradictions in a socialist society are the same as those in a capitalist society; that is, it is always a contradiction between the two large classes of capitalists and the proletariat. Actually, there is no way to find the cause of contradictions between nonantagonistic elements of society. This is contrary to the basic truths of Marxism.

In our country, after the socialization of the means of production was basically completed, it was just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The socialist relations of production have already been set up; it is suited to the development of the forces of production. However, it is very imperfect. These imperfect aspects and the development of the forces of production are mutually contradictory." (The Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Volume Five, page 374.) The problems that are occurring at this time are due to the fact that the forces of production are in a low stage of development and cannot come close to meeting the needs of the people and the nation. Under these conditions, our main task naturally should be to utilize new production relations fully, protect and promote the rapid development of the forces of production, and change our country as rapidly as possible from a poor backward agricultural nation to a modern, prosperous and strong socialist one. While energetically promoting the development of the forces of production, we must also regulate and reform those imperfect aspects of the relations of production and the superstructure to make them better gradually and even more beneficial to promoting the advancement of the forces of production. Thus, we see that the major contradiction mentioned by Chairman Hua in his report is really the present peculiar manifestation of the basic contradiction in China's socialist society.

9559
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PARTY AND STATE

UNITY BETWEEN PATRIOTISM, RENOVATION ADVOCATED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 80 p 4

[Article by Zhen Xulu [7115 2485 7785]: "The Question of Patriotism Versus National Betrayal in Modern Chinese History"]

[Text] Modern China began with the advent of aggression by foreign capitalism and the Chinese people's opposition to such aggression. During this period of more than 100 years, national contradiction has been very sharp. Although, in the final analysis, national contradiction can only be class contradictions, under certain circumstances class contradiction has often had to remain subordinate to national contradiction. For this reason the appraisal of many events and personalities in modern history must pass a test as to whether they belonged to the category of patriotism or the category of national betrayal. Patriotism and national betrayal constitute two diametrically opposed attitudes toward state and national interest, and they have always been Yellow River Jing and Wei. Yet, the relations between national contradiction and class contradiction, between class struggle and production struggle, and between learning from foreign countries and resisting their aggression have always been tangled together or mutually penetrating in the historical process. In the past our analysis in this regard has not been adequate enough and therefore has yielded not a few conclusions based on simplification or *a priori* formulation. And in 1976, Qi Benyu [2058 2609 4416] and his ilk thus also resorted to flippancy of this kind on the pretext of criticizing the movie film "Secret History of the Qing Court" under the theme "Patriotism or National Betrayal." In doing so, they succeeded in distorting the boundary between patriotism and national betrayal. In order to distinguish the true from the false and the right from the wrong, I hereby propose some exploration on a number of such questions as they touch on patriotism and national betrayal.

I. The Essential Meaning of Patriotism

The simplest meaning of patriotism is one's sincere, fervent love for one's motherland. But when one is called a patriot one must also have had some special demonstration in deeds, such as, when his motherland is subject to the oppression and aggression by foreign nations, he carries out resolute resistance in his expressions and activities, or, when he is in a foreign

country, he exhibits full enthusiasm in caring about his motherland and making contributions as a result: only thus would he be called a patriot. And only those personalities who further unhesitatingly step forward and struggle against the foreign aggressors to the very end would be praised as national heroes. For example, Lin Zexu [2651 0463 1776], Guan Tianpei [7070 1131 1014], Zhen Huazheng [7115 0553 2052] and the like who insisted on forbidding opium smoking and resisting British aggression were the very embodiments of the image of a high degree of nationalist integrity. On this point, they differed very little from patriots or national heroes prior to the modern period. In other words, all those who advocated resisting foreign aggression and thereby demonstrated themselves in such a manner were without exception our patriots and our national heroes and would therefore be worthy of people's praise.

But, a fundamental change took place between modern China and the situation the country found itself in before the modern period. There has been a great difference between the modern invaders and invaders of the remote past. The former represent the aggression committed by capitalist imperialism against a feudal China and the attack by countries with advanced production techniques on a country with backward production techniques. A war against them, therefore, has not been just a simple military conflict; it has had to rely also on economic warfare, and it has been a total war between colonialism and anti-colonialism. And in order to achieve victory over them, there has been also a solemn task of learning from them--learning from the enemy--involved. The reason that what Lin Zexu suggested in terms of opening our eyes to look at the world and what Wei Yuan [7614 3293] proposed in terms of "learning what the barbarians are good at in order to cope with the barbarians" happened to have offered greater enlightenment to their successors is because they were representative of the lively pulse of the time. And the reason Lin Zexu became a particularly outstanding patriot is also precisely because of this.

Chairman Mao Zedong said: "The concrete content of patriotism depends on the historical conditions under which it takes shape" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 508). Because of the upheavals in the international environment, the enemy modern China faced was no longer the attack of nomadic peoples or feudal chieftains but a comprehensive military, economic and cultural attack of capitalist imperialism. If anyone should continue to imitate the feudal diehards and plagiarize the old song of the early Qing Dynasty, thinking that "closing our border passes and forbidding communications through the sealanes" would suffice to keep the enemy beyond the gate of the nation, he may, in so doing, play a slightly effective defensive role in the short run but, in the long run, he might claim to be a patriot as much as he pleased whereas what he would actually lead to could not but be only a mishandling of state affairs: once such false defenses broke down, there could be no stopping the inroads thereafter.

These footsteps of history tell us that the patriotism of modern China, under the basic demand of resisting foreign aggression, must accommodate the foresight and the ready mentality of an understanding of the world and

of learning from the West, so that the good things of the foreign countries can be borrowed as the necessary references for us to reform China. If we look back at the successive important political reform movements of the past 100 years, which one of them was not a combination of patriotism together with renovation? Even though, along with the changing times, the slogans aiming at, and the degrees achieved in, renovation may have differed and the characters of such movements may also have varied, they invariably have had to do with learning from the foreign countries, and their progression fully demonstrated this historical logic.

The Westernization Movement aiming at enriching the nation and strengthening its military establishments was no other than "learning what the barbarians are good at";

The 1898 Reform aiming at the salvation of the country from pending perils was no other than absorbing Western learning for the purpose of effecting the Reform;

The 1911 Revolution aiming at the overthrow of the running dog of imperialism--the Government of the Qing Dynasty--was designed to establish a bourgeois democratic republic that had long emerged in the West;

The May 4 Movement aiming at thoroughly opposing imperialism and thoroughly opposing feudalism appealed for the establishment of science and democracy and also went further in advocating "learning from Russia."

Of this progression chart of modern China, anti-imperialism and patriotism make up an important content. But every movement inevitably devolved upon a demand for anti-feudalistic renovation, and the span of its stride of renovation was in turn determined by the span of its stride in learning from the West and opposing feudalism. Contrariwise, insofar as the frustration or failure of every renovation attempt was concerned, even though imperialist interference was a culprit which made our martyrs regret forever, more often it was due to the poisoning of the erosive dose of feudalism that practically left no stone unturned.

This appellation of patriotism, which is fraught with political effect and which inspires ready respect, is based on the defense of state sovereignty and national interest and generally refers to a prevention of the things the state and the nation already possess from encroachment. But the long-range interests of the state and the nation lies in continued development forward and in a general uplift of the level of its social production and science and culture. If the feudal state system based on small-farm economy and remaining in a stagnant state could still maintain the country for over 2,000 years in the past, it became impossible in the modern period for that system to preserve its original state without seeking progress, without planning for renovation, under the powerful impact of world capitalism. The history of defeat and humiliation since the Opium War suffices to illustrate this cruel reality. Hence, if one limits one's effort to that of preserving

the things one originally possesses without looking forward, without embarking upon a path of renovation and development, he is liable to become a wretched soul bogged down in benighted conservatism and unwarranted self-aggrandization. Those gentlemen in history who murmured about defending China's original culture as a pledge but in reality known not how to carry it out--were they not but practicing conservatism in the name of patriotism?

"If it is in the interest of the state, my life or death may be determined by it; how can I ever try to avoid committing myself to it?" These two stanzas in a poem of Lin Zexu's are full of patriotic fervor. They were written not only in order to express his resolve to resist British aggression and his resentment against Emperor Dao Guang's wavering attitude and appeasement, but also to include the positive demand as to how the country must face the new situation squarely and thereby treat foreign countries in a relevant way. Hence, he conducted investigations amidst the foreigners; he commissioned staff members to translate newspapers and journals in the foreign languages; and he compiled the manuscript on "Records of the Four Continents." All of these demonstrated this point. Therefore, Lin Zexu was an outstanding patriot; his thinking and activity reflected the timely mission of the Chinese nation.

II. Foreign Affairs and Worshipping Things Foreign

Foreign affairs and worshipping things foreign are two concepts; they are connected with each other but definitely not equivalent to each other. But for long periods of time, people have confused them with each other, taking foreign affairs directly as instances of worshipping things foreign whenever they are broached, or as instances of being obsequious to foreign countries. As a result, the Westernization Movement, the movement to assimilate things foreign, which in those days happened to be primarily Western, became automatically a national betrayal movement. In the early 1960's there was a view that the Westernization Movement was reactionary and it hence could not be called a "movement" at all but should be changed to "Westernization activity." In certain books and articles, this change was accordingly made. Let us not debate here whether the term "movement" can be used only on a just, renovative political movement, the fact is that the Westernization Movement was far from being altogether reactionary.

The term foreign affairs evolved originally from the term barbarian affairs. It merely suggested that the new things of Western capitalism had come from across the oceans, and hence the "distinction between what is barbarian and what is Chinese" was turned into the relative difference between what was foreign and what was indigenous, or between what was Chinese and what was foreign. This may well be considered as an instance of progress. At that time Hong Rengian [3163 0088 6513] profoundly suggested that whenever "people from other countries in the different parts of the world came to pay homage to this court, slighting words and terms such as all barbarians from the four seas are now submitting to the Dynasty, such as eastern barbarians, northern barbarians, western barbarians and southern barbarians, and such as devils, should no longer be uttered at all." It was his opinion that using such

"slighting words belongs to the category of attempts at winning an argument through quarrels and not that of measures aiming at handling of practical issues" ("New Treatise on References for Governance"). This precisely reflected the fact that those pompous concepts were already beginning to undergo some changes. Thus, the original "A Record of Invasion by the English Barbarians' Vessels" was now also changed to "Recorded Observations on Foreign Affairs."

What were the contents of the foreign enterprises created under the Westernization Movement? Someone has made a rather inclusive statement: "When manufacturing in question, the suggestion was that we must be dexterous in mathematics; when negotiations were in question, the requirement was that we must know the languages to be used; when religious incidents were to be handled, the requirement was that we must be adept at employing diplomacy; when commercial intercourse was in question, then the sure demand was that those concerned be conversant with commercial affairs. To call all these negotiations, manufacturing, handling of religious incidents, commercial intercourse and affairs of the like by a single all-inclusive term, the term 'foreign affairs' emerged." ("A Compendium of the Citizen's Daily," Vol III, "Editorials," p 33). This was to say that all things relating to foreign capitalism were called foreign affairs. It was a fact that, in the process of handling these foreign affairs, there were cases of people worshipping things foreign and being obsequious to the foreign countries, which lent assistance to the development of comprador forces in the country. But we cannot therefore say that every one of those unavoidable dealings with foreign affairs was meant to be a means of worshipping things foreign or being obsequious to foreign countries, let alone the fact that some of such dealings were even of a pioneering nature. For instance, the building of railroads was subject to a quarrel that lasted as many as 20 years. Between 1875 and 1876, the British merchants' Yiho Company built a railroad of over just 10 li between Shanghai and Wusong; merely because of the fact that when it was opened to traffic a person was crushed to death, it was regarded as something devilish. The Shanghai authorities therefore ordered the company to stop building it any further and also redeemed it at cost from the company. In doing so, the authorities naturally protected our sovereign rights and therefore their deed should be considered patriotic. Yet, redemption did not mean a continuation of the foreign company's effort; nay, Shen Baozhen [3088 5508 2823], governor-general of Jiangsu-Anhui-Jiangxi, was so afraid of public criticism that he had the railroad dismantled and the locomotives dumped into the river and even those railtracks and locomotives transported to Taiwan were thrown into the harbor. Could this not have been an abuse resulting from feudal thinking, but a gesture of worshipping things foreign or being obsequious to foreign countries? Also, in the case of the launching of the Merchants Steamship Company, how can we doubt that its original purpose was to resist foreign vessels and to regain our own rights and benefits, and that there were quite some achievements during the early years of its operations? But, as it was subject to fierce competition by the foreign vessels, especially when enterprises at the time were all bureaucratized, with procedures such as centralized operations, joint operations, coordinates operations, special operations upon command, and other cumbersome regulations

of the like hampering its management, those in position knew only how to remain good bureaucrats and divide their spoils accordingly; they had little knowledge of such management, nor knew how to handle their responsibilities. Under such circumstances, how was it possible for them not to fail? Take the Hanyang Iron Works again as an example. Zhang Zhidong [1728 0037 3195], in order to have this enterprise securely placed right underneath his nose, i.e., in the jurisdiction of his Hu-Guang Governor General's Office quartered in Wuchang, chose to build the works at a place, Hanyang, which had easy access neither to coal nor to iron ores. Besides, the foundation of the factory was laid in a low, swampy area; the job of raising it and then paving it alone cost more than 300,000 taels of silver. Before the factory started operation, capital investments had already far exceeded its original plans. Hence, since stoppage was not advisable, the only thing left for him to do was to rake and dig and add more afterwards; this shadow of bureaucracy thereby brought misfortune to this new enterprise at its very inception. Therefore, the railway, industrial and mining enterprises that were started during the Westernization Movement were the necessities of those days, and the people in charge also did what they should; there was no question of fault. But the crux of the problem was that the obstacles and corruptive effects of feudalism made it impossible for them to succeed.

Nor is it a proper attitude of seeking truth from facts if we do not conduct any analysis, but designate all those Westernizers who initiated the Westernization Movement as representative of conniving with imperialism or as traitors and foreign slaves. In reality, some of them took imperialism seriously and also put up their resistance accordingly. Haven't some people already affirmed the merit of Zo Zongtang [1563 1350 2768] in chasing A-gu-bo from Xinjiang and resisting Tsarist Russia? Did Zen Jize [2582 4764 3419] not stand his ground and struggle to do his best when he re-negotiated the Treaty of Ili and held talks with France? Guo Songtao [6753 1529 3614], who was called a theorist of Westernization, was the first envoy plenipotentiary that the Qing Dynasty appointed to a Western country; because of his advocacy of Westernization he was for long periods of time subject to the bitter denunciation of the diehard courtiers who would like to "insulate him with the barbarians on the four sides of the country and thereby stop him from sharing the same China" with them. Yet, he was a really knowledgeable person who was concerned with the fate of the state and the nation. It was not unusual that Guo Songtao should be subject to ridicule in those days, but it would be too oblivious of the pace of the times if we should ourselves include such "ridicule" in the history we write today.

The emergence of the Westernizers represented a real differentiation for the first time since the landlord class existed in China; they were the ones who initiated the reforms in modern China's politics and economy. Although reformists of the landlord class before them, such as Lin Zexu, Gong Zizhen [7895 5261 3791] and Wei Yuan, had also suggested not a few plans for reform, they remained merely a style of thinking and therefore constituted only reformism in words (there is no intent to deprecate them here); only by the time of the Westernizers were such suggestions given any practical meaning. The contentions and debates the Westernizers had with the diehards during the years when they first initiated their new measures of Westernization, such

as the contentions and debates surrounding the Foreign Languages Academy and the contentions and debates surrounding railroad building, were all helpful toward the release of the country's productive forces and instrumental in propelling our society forward. It was precisely under the advocacy and promotion of "manufacturing of foreign gadgets" and "adoption of Western learning" that the early contingent of bourgeois reformists was nurtured; people like Ma Jianzhong [7456 1696 1813], Xue Fucheng [5641 4395 2052], Zheng Guanying, etc., all emerged from the ranks of the Westernizers, and others like Yung Hong [1369 7031] and Wang Tao [3769 7290] got along with the Westernizers also quite well. This shows that the early bourgeois reformists emerged from the ranks of the Westernizers but were their critics at the same time. From then on, the breach in the landlord class became wider and wider and could no longer be healed. Such a differentiation represents social advancement, not social regression.

There emerged along with the Westernization Movement, however, also a new social psychology: what was foreign was superior to what was indigenous, hence foreign goods were better than indigenous goods, foreigners were better than native Chinese, and this developed to the point when even indigenously produced goods had to be given foreign labels in order to obtain a good price. This was the result of the inferiority which became evident when the feudal small-farm economy was compared to the capitalist production by machines; it appeared as early as the late years of the Dao Guang reign but became more widespread during the Westernization Movement. Some people observed sarcastically; "Whether south or north of the Great River, nothing is better unless it happens to be of foreign origin. Oh, foreign, foreign, what an overwhelming scene!" The fact that the Westernizers studied the languages and literature of the West, imported foreign science and technology, and launched industrial and mining enterprises of our own should have itself resulted in a change in the gap between China and the foreign countries; yet, in the end, it served but to aggravate foreign-worshipping ideas. This was because the achievements of these Western-style enterprises thus created were not very impressive, and reliance on foreigners became more and more acute; hence, there was no way to score any breakthrough in the existing situation of that gap between China and the foreign countries. Such a consequence could hardly be separated from the corruption of the feudal system then prevailing, and it was, for this reason, impossible for the country to have any spirit of self-reliance under the circumstances. What was more, the fact that arch Westernizer Li Hongzhang [2621 7703 4545] actually carried out a line of appeasement and surrender in the series of foreign wars and negotiations he handled also constituted a historical reason that the Westernization Movement was confused with worshipping things foreign and being obsequious to foreign countries.

If we start from historical realities, we would see that the railroads and industrial and mining enterprises launched during the Westernization Movement represented the demands of the day and were intended to resist the invasion of foreign capitalism; although they were somewhat related to the attitude of worshipping things foreign and being obsequious to foreign countries, they can never be said to be the same as the latter. Therefore, we must make clear four differentiations: 1. We must differentiate Western-style

enterprises from the diplomatic line of "appeasement" pursued by the arch Westernizers; 2. We must differentiate those Westernizers who put up resistance in our foreign wars and negotiations from those simply appeased and surrendered; 3. We must differentiate those who practiced appeasement and surrender in our foreign wars and negotiations from the industrial and mining enterprises they launched; and 4. We must differentiate the role of these industrial and mining enterprises they launched from the latter's mismanagement. Therefore, insofar as the Westernization Movement is concerned, we must on the one hand see that it was a stage in the development of the struggle between the new and the old in modern China, and that it both destroyed old things and protected old things, and we must on the other hand also conduct concrete analyses and differentiate the various situations in our treatment. Only thus will it be possible for us to achieve a relatively more correct appraisal as to which was right and which was wrong. If we just chop them down with a single sweep of our cleaver, condemning all of them as reflective of worshipping things foreign and being obsequious to foreign countries, then that can hardly be relevant to the true historical situation.

III. War Policy and Peace Policy

At times of sharp national contradictions in history, the question as to how to treat them often led to a divergence between a war policy and a peace policy and, because of this, also to a divergence between war advocates and peace advocates. The various national wars in modern China have been no exception. Generally speaking, those who advocated a war policy would usually be resisters, and they were therefore also patriots; those who advocated a peace policy would usually be appeasers, and they were also traitors, and this was the case especially when the country happened to have been subject to foreign invasions for long periods of time. This being so, are we going to conclude, then, that in such a contradiction between war and peace, one group is therefore going to be included forever in the list of glory, and the other group is going to be forever nailed on the pillar of shame? In reality, it certainly does not look that way. Let us just take the Emperor's Faction and the Empress Dowager's Faction in the late Qing Dynasty as examples here, and see how the just nature of the advocacies of a war policy and a peace policy between them also underwent certain transformations.

When the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 occurred, the Emperor's Faction advocated war, and because of this, collaborated with the reformists, whereas the Empress Dowager's Faction advocated peace, and because of this, also fell in line with the arch Westernizers. There was indeed a distinction between resistance and surrender, between patriotism and national betrayal. Six years later, when the Boxer Movement took place and the eight-country allied forces invaded China, there was a turnaround, as the Empress Dowager's Faction advocated war while the Emperor's Faction advocated peace (after the 1898 Reform, even though the Emperor's Faction was defeated, there was still a force supportive of the emperor left). If we should project the earlier situation onto this latter one, can it be said that the difference between patriotism and national betrayal remained in a direct ratio to the difference between the advocacy of a war policy and the advocacy of a peace policy? Yet, this was precisely how

Ji Banyu argued in his "Patriotism or National Betrayal." After that, the "gang of four" proceeded even further directly to equate the two situations, saying that the empress dowager was better than Emperor Guang Xu because she dared to declare war on the eight imperialisms. While this may not have appeared in writing, they actually said so and even claimed that what they said had a sound basis.

Now let us take a look at how the empress dowager, and Zai Yi [6528 3354], Gang Yi [0474 3015] and other diehards advocated their war policy. In 1899 the empress dowager established Pu Quan [3302 7165], son of Zai Yi, as the crown prince in preparation for the demotion of Emperor Guang Xu from that already legitimated status so that the latter would not be allowed to serve even as a puppet. The new crown prince was to accede to the Throne, and his reign name was to be changed to "Bao Qing." This was namely the game played in terms of "the 1899 Crown Prince Establishment Ceremony." Rong Lu [2837 4389] wanted Li Hongzhang to ascertain the attitudes of the ministers of the various countries stationed in the capital and have them invited to the Court to extend their congratulations when the time should come. But the ministers of the various countries replied that they knew nothing of the situation inside the Palace and declined to go to the Court for the stated purpose, thus withholding their support from the empress dowager in her attempt to demote one and promote the other. In the wake of this, Liu Kunyi [0491 0981 0001], governor general of Jiangsu-Anhui-Jiangxi, also submitted a memorandum abandonment of her plan, saying that "the status of the emperor [Guang Xu] over the subjects in the country has already been defined; it would be exceedingly difficult to stem criticisms at home and abroad." It was only then that the great plot to demote one and establish the other was abandoned. But, because of this episode, the empress dowager and Zai Yi harbored a severe hatred toward the ministers of the various countries. In 1900, the Boxers were deployed throughout the Beijing-Tianjin region while imperialist war vessels were stationed in the Baku Harbor; the whole country was sizzling with ominous expectations. Then, in the darkness of a midnight, it was rumored that the various countries had issued four conditions in an aide-memoire to the Court: 1. a place to be designated, and the Chinese emperor was to be ordered to live there; 2. taxes and levies from the various provinces would be collected [by the various countries] for the Chinese Government; 3. military power would also be placed under the control of the various countries in behalf of Chinese authorities; and 4. the empress dowager was to give up her rule. The key lay with the last condition. The empress dowager announced the three former conditions but said nothing about the last. None of the high-ranking Chinese officials knew where this alleged aide-memoire came from, but there was a rumor that it was fabricated by Zai Yi for the sake of provoking the empress dowager so that she would punish the imperialists and go on to carry out her original plan to establish his son at the expense of Guang Xu. But on 18 June, American missionary Dinghuiliang [phonetic] did propose "to exile the empress dowager and restore the legitimate power of Emperor Guang Xu" (THE TIMES, Beijing-Tianjin, 13 September 1900). The rumor, therefore, appeared not entirely groundless. As soon as the empress dowager heard about this, her face and voice immediately became stern, and she cried out ferociously: "If one can bear this, whatever else would one not be expected to bear!" She thereby wanted to immediately "launch an unrestrained expedition" so as to "determine who is stronger." War was therefore declared on the 21st.

On what strength did the diehards headed by the empress dowager have to depend in order to "launch an unrestrained expedition"? One source was Dong Fuxiang's [5516 4395 4382] troops. Another was the Boxers. But what they tried to depend on was not the strength of the masses of the Boxers; what they tried to depend on was the magic of those Boxers which allegedly made them "immune from penetration by any swords and spears." What Grand Secretary Xu Tong [1776 2717] said in the scrolls he presented to a Boxer, his elder school mate--"On divine prowess will we depend in order to send chills down the spines of the enemy"--was namely the sharpest weapon they tried to depend on. As for the fact that Dong Fuxiang's troops killed a secretary of the Japanese Legation, Sha-shan-bin [transliteration] in the street was said to be a "war accomplishment." The fact that more than 10,000 troops proceeded to attack the Legation Quarters in the Dong-jiao-min Lane area that was defended by only a few hundred foreign soldiers but failed to take it over even after a siege of nearly 2 months was again said to be a "war accomplishment." Did such a war policy really amount to fighting the imperialists? In reality, evidently, it merely created the pretext under which the imperialists eventually were able to extort indemnities and snatch sovereign rights from China. I do not intend to discuss these Boxers very much here. Let me quote but one sentence from Premier Zhou Enlai: "There was a historical root-cause for the Boxers' anti-foreign behavior" ("A Talk to the Drama, Opera, and Children's Skit Playwrights in the Capital," 17 February 1962). Of course, there was a difference between the Boxers' anti-foreign behavior and the war policy of the empress dowager's diehards; but the divine way on which the Boxers depended and the *magacuous* way propagated by the diehards in terms of "attacking the heret . . . followers so as to rectify the people's minds" most certainly were internally connected.

Turning to the reason that the peace policy was advocated by the Emperor's Faction and other concerned personalities, we see, on the other hand, that it was an outcome mainly of the pressure exerted precisely by the misguided edict on the war policy perpetrated by the Empress Dowager's Faction. If we find a chance to read Yun Yuding [1926 3022 7844] "Faithful Recordings of Conglin," we will see that in his recordings on the debates on peace and war during the four meetings before the Imperial Court in June, what was right and what was wrong show up very clearly. Yun Yuding was one of those 100-plus persons, including the Five Grand Councilors, the Six Departmental Ministers, and the Nine Assistant Ministers, who had to kneel before the Imperial Court while attending the meeting at the time; his recordings are genuine.

After the meetings before the Imperial Court, Minister of Military Affairs Xu Yongyi [1776 3938 0308], Minister of the Interior Li Shan [4539 1472], First Deputy Minister of Personnel Xu Jingcheng [6079 2529 3397], Assistant Minister in charge of ceremonies at the Imperial Temple Yuan Cang [5913 2512], and Secretary of the Imperial Cabinet Lian Yuan [5114 0337]--later known as the Five Grand Councilors--were executed respectively under the pretexts of "conniving with foreigners," "uttering disloyal words to hamper forthright administration," "frequently interjecting divisive expressions,"

etc., simply because they did not echo the empress dowager's war policy. Even though persons like Xu Yongyi and Li Shan were no precious talents to be treasured and their execution was nothing to be terribly regretted, the crimes attributed to them were nonetheless hardly their due. As for Xu Jingcheng, Yuan Cang, and Lian Yuan, these officials were rather knowledgeable about the situation within and without the nation; the fact that in the face of the threat posted by the empress dowager's tyrannical followers for them to conform they were able to forget their own safety and speak up with courage the way they did most certainly demonstrates a sense of responsibility and a patriotic mind on their part. They being executed was unjust. In the works on the country's modern history during the past 30 years, they have been either avoided in the discussions or demeaned as criminals "conning with foreigners." This is not the kind of serious, scrutinizing attitude with which those works are written.

Here I have ascertained the relationship between war and peace only on the basis of a couple of historical examples. As we all know, war and peace constitute a relationship of unity of opposites and their benefits and liabilities may transform into each other. Lenin revealed this very historical dialectics in his treatment of the "Brest Treaty of Peace." Although in the face of imperialist bandits we cannot exhibit any weakness, it would be improper for us to ignore the factors of time, place, and conditions and resort to handling them in a rash way; nor will it be possible for us to use just our two fists and to issue some battlecries in an attempt to drive away the imperialists. In a history of more than 100 years of the nation's suffering, we have long sustained the disadvantages of such policies of appeasement and surrender and hence have come to regard war as absolutely right and peace as absolutely wrong for quite a while now, taking a war policy or a peace policy as the dividing line between patriotism and national betrayal irrespective of conditions then prevailing. Perhaps this reflects at least a metaphysical tendency on our part?

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CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

IMPROPER USE OF MAO SLOGAN DECRIED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jan 80 p 4

[Article by Zhou Xiao [0719 2556] in "A Hundred Topics on Emancipating the Mind" column: "Who Is Most Intelligent? Who Is Most Ignorant?"]

[Text] In the old society, people were divided into various grades and ranks. Those parasites who could neither tell the five grains apart nor use their own limbs were called the "elite." Those laboring people who created material wealth and history were called the "lowly." This was a reversal of history. Under these conditions, to say that "the lowly are the most intelligent and the elite most ignorant" completely accords with the facts. In liberated New China, the laboring people are the masters of the state. The relationship between people has undergone a fundamental change, and people are only differentiated by the social division of labor. There is no longer a division between the elite and the lowly. However, owing to the effect of the several thousands of years of the concept of feudal classes, among certain exploiting class elements and intellectuals, who have not been adequately reformed, the idea of looking down upon laboring people and not believing in their intelligence still exists; even a small number of workers also have an idea that they are "inferior." Precisely because of this idea, Comrade Mao Zedong, in his written remarks on the successful trial-manufacture of the first tractor by the Dandong 518 Tractor Assembly Plant, pointed out that "the lowly are most intelligent and the elite most ignorant." This illustrated the fact that the workers of the old society, who were called the lowly, once they had stood up and been liberated, displayed their intelligence, ability, and wisdom, which had been stifled in the past, and could perform human miracles. Comrade Mao Zedong used this sentence to praise the pioneering spirit of the working class and, without the slightest doubt, he was absolutely correct.

However, some people, particularly Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their ilk, thought that under the socialist system the elite and the lowly still existed. Moreover, on the basis of the thesis that "the lowly are most intelligent and the elite most ignorant," they attacked and persecuted those they called the elite. Not only was this extremely absurd, it was also done with an ulterior motive.

In our socialist society, what criterion is used to distinguish the elite from the lowly?

If we make the distinction on the basis of holding power, then those who hold power are called the "elite" and those who do not are called the "lowly." The logical deduction is that the greater the power the more elite, and the more elite the more ignorant. Wouldn't that mean that district cadres are more intelligent than county cadres and that county cadres are more intelligent than provincial cadres.... This argument can have no better result than to cause the party leadership to waver, leading to anarchism. Our cadres are the leaders of the masses. How can the ignorant command the countless masses, vanquish foreign and domestic enemies, surmount difficulties and obstacles, and go from one victory to another? Therefore, it is easy to see that to distinguish the "elite" from the "lowly" on the basis of holding power or not, or on whether the power held is large or small, is mistaken and even reactionary.

To make the distinction on the basis of knowledge would mean that the intellectuals, especially the senior intellectuals, are the "elite" and the workers, peasants, and junior intellectuals are the "lowly." This interpretation is also nonsense. The proletarian intellectuals, such as professors, engineers and technicians, and all kinds of specialists who have made achievements, are specialized in their fields. In these fields, their attainment of knowledge is profound. They are the Chinese nation's "bag of wisdom." How can we say they are ignorant! How could ignorant people grasp that kind of erudite knowledge and the mastery of complicated technology? If these people, owing to their grasp of more knowledge, are said to be "most ignorant," then this means nothing other than that the less knowledge one has the more intelligent one is. Wouldn't that mean that the college student is more intelligent than the professor, the middle school student more intelligent than the college student, and the elementary school pupil more intelligent than the middle school student—in a word, those who know nothing have become the "most intelligent." By this logic, we are bound to reach the absurd conclusion that "the more knowledge one has the more reactionary one is" and the more education one has the more ignorant one is.

It is also incorrect to think that, on the basis of the social division of labor between people, mental workers are the "elite" and manual workers the "lowly." In our country, mental work and manual work differ only in the social division of labor, and there is no division into the high and low, the noble and the base. Neither kind of work can be done by ignorant people. Yesterday a person did manual work and today, because of work necessities, he does mental work. How is it possible to say that yesterday he was "most ignorant" and that today he has become "most intelligent" because his ignorance was transferred to mental work? The course of history clearly shows that, following the development of a society's productive force and the advance of its science and technology, the quality of the labor force (mainly the quality of its education and technology) is inevitably greatly heightened and that heavy manual labor is gradually replaced by advanced

science and technology. More people become engaged in mental work, and the number of people engaged in manual work is reduced accordingly. How is it possible to say that, because of this, that there are more and more ignorant people and that people are becoming more and more ignorant?

"The lowly are most intelligent and the elite most ignorant"--this slogan was used by some people at the end of the 50's to do some stupid things that did not accord with objective economic laws, did not value science, and did not value experts, as well as to "blindly issue orders." During the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also used this slogan to draw the old cadres and intellectuals into the "ignorant" "elite." They attacked, persecuted, and wrecked science, culture and education. They made a mess of politics, ideology and the economy, causing tragedies and disasters.

At this late hour, there are people who, for the glory of being "rough and ready fellows," do not study scientific knowledge. These people, poisoned by "illiteracy added to hooliganism, consider themselves the "intelligent ones" and do bad things that harm the state and the people. We must not again allow this slogan to be used improperly.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL ON LEADING CADRE'S CRITICISM OF MAO

HK211602 Hong Kong MING PAO YUEHKAN in Chinese No 2, 1 Feb 80 pp 2-15 HK

[Article by Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055] [chief editor of the RENMIN RIBAO]: "The Greatest Lesson of the Cultural Revolution Is That the Personality Cult Should Be Opposed." (The first blow of an attack directed against Mao within the Chinese Communist Party: a speech delivered at the conference of theoretical work of the CCP Central Committee, 13 February 1979)]

[Text] (Editor's Note): The series of disturbances, such as the antirightist campaign, the three red banners, the cultural revolution, criticism of Confucius and Deng Xiaoping, have thrown the people in mainland China into endless miseries. The root of all these is Mao Zedong. However, one should not put all the blame on him because after all it is the autocratic system and the lack of democracy and rule of law which are the root causes of all these. The personal worship and personality cult of Mao Zedong by communist cadres and the people of China have immensely added fuel to such tendencies. There is marked progress in various areas of work in the mainland; however, the problems are still insurmountable. One of the principal reasons is that there is still a knot within the hearts of the people: If we want "to base our work on the basis of facts," why are the merits and demerits of Mao Zedong not open for public discussion? Why withhold from the popular masses the truth about the root of all the mistakes? If "the glorious red banner of Mao Zedong Thought" is still upheld and Mao Zedong Thought is still stipulated as the principle of nationhood in the Constitution, who can guarantee that the various erroneous lines of Mao Zedong will not repeat themselves in the future?

If the CCP wants to unfold its work, this crucial problem must be resolved. Otherwise, the cadres will not dare do anything and the people will have no long-term faith in the four modernizations. It is "very likely that the erroneous line of Mao Zedong will be revived someday. If one follows the present line too closely, one might suffer serious repercussions in the future." This shadow has been cast on the hearts of the average person in China. Therefore, a realistic evaluation of Mao Zedong's merits and demerits is the crucial link in the political, economic, military, social, cultural aspects of work of the CCP. Simply putting all the blame on Lin Biao and the "gang of four" will not resolve the problem.

On 13 February 1979 the chief editor of the RENMIN RIBAO, Wang Ruoshui gave a speech at the conference of theoretical work of the CCP Central Committee. He traced the root of the series of errors, such as the antirightist campaign, the three red banners, the cultural revolution, criticism of Deng and so forth, to Mao Zedong himself. He also emphasized that the error of personality cult should not be repeated in the future. This speech caused a sensation throughout the party and the whole army. Some of those attending this conference copied the speech. When this was circulated among the people, everyone applauded and was greatly encouraged. This speech was widely circulated and became the most talked about and welcomed speech among the masses of cadres and the people.

The popularity of Wang Ruoshui's speech lies in the fact that he had the courage to publicly talk about what is in the hearts of everyone. Furthermore, the content of the speech is substantially informative and highly logical, and the arguments are clearly stated and the conclusions well drawn. The impact of this speech has been rather extensive and has much to contribute to the rational development of the future. The speech by Wang Ruoshui had a spurring effect on developments such as the fall of the "whatever function" the shunning of personality cult by CCP leaders and the total rejection of the cultural revolution and personality cult in the important speech of Ye Jianying.

The full text of the speech was sent to us by one of our readers last July. We were duly respectful to Mr Wang Ruoshui and feared that publication of the speech overseas might cause inconvenience for him or even lead to his criticism by others. Therefore, we held back from publishing the speech and locked it up. Recently, certain portions of his speech (such as the comparison of "The Internationale" and "The East Is Red") have been disclosed by other magazines. The criticism of Mao Zedong in China has long since been exempted from incrimination and criticism. There has already been the important speech by Ye Jianying. Meanwhile, the communist press has openly acclaimed Liu Shaoqi. We are also informed that there were also many top-level cadres who joined in the criticism against the cultural revolution and Mao Zedong during that conference on theoretical work. The only difference between them and Wang Ruoshui was that they were less daring and less systematic. Based on the conviction that everybody should be concerned and have the right to know about national affairs and believing that publication of the speech will not adversely affect Mr Wang Ruoshui, we decided to publish it in this issue.

[HK211610] According to the reader who sent us the speech, it was broken down into segments and sent to Hong Kong in more than 10 letters to different recipients to be reassembled afterwards. One or two letters might have been lost in the process. Furthermore, the handwriting of the copyists is different and some is even illegible. Besides, after passing through so many hands and places, there may be some small gaps, omissions and errors.

This is a historic speech. It is the first blow of criticism against Mao within the party. It is believed that all those who wish a bright future for China will acclaim this and rejoice over it. The readers might also know that within the higher circles of the CCP, there have been realistic discussions of the merits and demerits of Mao Zedong. [end Editor's Note]

Why Was the Cultural Revolution Launched?

The cultural revolution should be correctly treated in accord with what the communique of the third plenum called "treating it historically, scientifically and on the basis of seeking truth from the facts." However, to regard what was obviously bad as good is not handling it correctly. It is also wrong to hold on to the personality cult.

The cultural revolution was a great catastrophe for us and the whole people. This was caused mainly by the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." But how could this handful of people totally upset a nation of 800 million people and a large party of 30 million members? With the acumen of Chairman Mao, why was it impossible for him to discover and frustrate their conspiracies in time? Why did Chairman Mao allow them to commit so many crimes under his banner and with the aid of his prestige?

The cultural revolution was a massive political movement which swallowed up mainland China for over 11 years. According to Marxist-Leninist theories, political movements of such scale should be looked at from the angle of economics. However, the economic conditions of a few years before the cultural revolution were quite good and the people were more contented. There was no need for the cultural revolution from the economic point of view. Politically speaking, the cultural revolution was directed against those who were taking the capitalist road. In this sense, the people should have been oppressed. However, why did the people not feel this way? People generally felt that everything was fine. Why was there a cultural revolution all of a sudden? Now we usually say that the cultural revolution was personally led and launched by Chairman Mao and no one has ever said that it was launched and led by the party.

It is true that Chairman Mao led and started the cultural revolution all by himself. What was this movement up to? What were the objectives behind the criticism of "Hai Rui's dismissal from office?" It was kept confidential in the beginning and probably only a handful such as Lin Biao and Jiang Qing knew what was going on. It was generally "beyond the comprehension of the masses of party members, including leading cadres." Then, they [why] did Chairman Mao launch the cultural revolution? Why was he able to launch the cultural revolution?

An Evaluation of the Danger of Revisionism

The communique of the third plenum said that the cultural revolution was "aimed primarily at opposing and preventing revisionism since the Soviet Union had degenerated into revisionism." It is correct to oppose and prevent revisionism. However, the problem is, what is revisionism? How do we evaluate the danger of revisionism?

In his interview with Edgar Snow in late 1970, Chairman Mao had a more detailed discussion of the background for launching the cultural revolution. Snow asked: "When did you clearly feel that Liu Shaoqi must be gotten rid of politically?" Chairman Mao answered 'January 1965. Article one of

the 23 articles stipulated that the objective of the four clearances was to purge the capitalist roaders within the party. Liu Shaoqi opposed this right away."

Let us put aside the problem of whether the concept of "capitalist roader" is scientific; it was nonetheless a new one. Neither Marx nor Lenin had talked about it; one cannot regard it as a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, opposition to this concept cannot be regarded as "revisionism." Furthermore, one should be allowed to give different opinions when discussing the cultural revolution. It is unreasonable to get rid of anyone politically (and he was the vice chairman of the party) simply because he disagreed. Had not Chairman Mao once said that one should unite with those who disagreed with oneself and had disagreed wrongly? It was argued that only the revisionists were exceptions with whom one should not unite. But Chairman Mao regarded all those who disagreed with his viewpoints as revisionists.

[HK211618] During this interview, Chairman Mao also talked about the conditions in educational circles. He said: "We do not have our own university professors, secondary school teachers and primary school teachers. All of them are from the Kuomintang. Actually, it was they who were ruling. The cultural revolution was directed against them." Chairman Mao did not seem to know that we had nurtured a large number of teachers in the 17 years since the founding of our country. Even with the preliberation old teachers, most of them had already undergone great ideological changes. Yet Chairman Mao regarded all the teachers in the schools as belonging to the Kuomintang and directed the attack on them.

Chairman Mao also talked about the conditions of the party: At that time I had no control over the party, propaganda work, the party branches of the provinces, the local authorities and not even the Beijing Municipal Committee. That was why there was nothing that could be designated as my personality cult. I could really use some of that."

This was Chairman Mao's appraisal of the situation at that time. Chairman Mao also repeated this appraisal on other occasions. For instance, in March 1966, Chairman Mao also said in the enlarged plenum of the Politburo that "at present, the bourgeois intellectuals are in real control of the academic and educational circles. The deeper the socialist revolution, the greater their resistance and the more their antiparty and antisocialist inclinations are exposed. Wu Han and Jian Bozan were communist party members. Even they were anticommunist and were Kuomintang members."

When talking about the necessity of the cultural revolution at the first plenum of the Ninth Central Committee, Chairman Mao also said: "In a considerably large number of factories, the leadership is not in the hands of genuine Marxists and not in the hands of the mass of workers." Of course, Chairman Mao also said some affirmative things. He said: "Factory leadership in the past was not devoid of good people." However, this saying seems rather strange. We think that it should be "there were many bad people."

In his "16 May circular," Chairman Mao also said that there was a group of antiparty and antisocialist capitalist representatives in the party Central Committee, the various central departments and the various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. According to him, these people "have already infiltrated into the party, the government and various cultural circles. When the time is ripe, they will usurp power and change the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois dictatorship."

Since these capitalist representatives have proliferated in the party, state and military organizations from the central to the local levels and at the various fronts, there must have been a great number handful. [as printed] If the majority of them had already taken up leading positions, they must have had wielded considerable power. It would only be a step away from total usurpation. In his 18 May 1966 speech, which was approved by Chairman Mao and sent to the whole party, Lin Biao said: "In recent months, Chairman Mao has taken special care to prevent a possible counterrevolutionary coup and has taken quite a number of measures. This problem has been touched upon after the Luo Ruiqing case. This time, after the Peng Zhen case, Chairman Mao has once again discussed this with others. He has mobilized his forces against any counterrevolutionary coup and prevented the enemy from taking our vital positions--the television and radio stations. The army and the security forces have been mobilized. This was what Chairman Mao had been doing these months...Chairman has lost much sleep over this affair."

Chairman Mao's appraisal of the situation was soul-stirring enough, but Lin Biao's words were far more sensational. However, we all believed it at the time. It was only after believing these words that we could believe in the necessity of the cultural revolution. In his letter to Jiang Qing, Chairman Mao said that he only approved of sending Lin Biao's speech against his own will. But did Lin Biao cook all that up? If it was just rumor mongering, Chairman Mao should have refuted it. However, Chairman Mao did not do that. Furthermore, Chairman Mao also talked a lot about a rightist coup in the letter. So it is obvious that Chairman Mao did worry about this point.

Did Our Party Need Reconstruction?

Chairman Mao not only thought that the capitalist representatives had infiltrated the leading organs of the party, but he also regarded the party as no good anymore. In the first plenum of the Ninth Central Committee in 1969, Chairman Mao said: "After 'entering the city,' our party is no good anymore. That was why foreigners and journalists said we were rebuilding the party. Now we should even propose this as our watchword. We call it consolidating and building up the party because we really need to rebuild."

[HK211624] In the "23 articles" of 1965, Chairman Mao was still saying that "the Chinese Communist Party is a glorious, great and correct party." But then Chairman Mao refuted his own words. The party was no longer glorious, great and correct, but was a bad one. It was so bad that it needed to be overthrown and rebuilt again.

If anyone in 1957 denied that our country was glorious, great and correct, he would be labeled a rightist. At that time, the issue we were contending with the rightists was whether our achievements were the main aspects of our work. However, when it came to 1966, the achievements of 17 years were denied. Our party was regarded as having turned revisionist and had to be totally smashed. The rightists had become leftists then. Why was there such a drastic change? The reason was that in 1975, Chairman Mao regarded himself as closely associated with the party; while in 1966, he no longer saw it that way. He thought that he was no longer in control of the party. Real power was not in his hands and no one worshiped him anymore. In that case, he was not responsible for any shortcomings or errors of the party. Then the rebels could wantonly vilify the party and brush aside the past 17 years as devoid of any merit. They did not have to worry about being labeled rightists. They only had to put all the blame on Liu Shaoqi.

Of course, that is not to say that everything was alright with the party before the cultural revolution. There were problems. Any political attack on leading cadres, such as the labels of capitalist roader, traitor, spy and counterrevolutionary revisionist, if proven as slanders and frame-ups should have been repudiated. However, besides all these, it was impossible to avoid mistakes in our work. The wall posters at that time also exposed many problems concerning the styles of working and living such as seeking special privileges, bureaucratism, extravagance and waste, the putting up of large numbers of public buildings, the practice of "what I say counts" and so forth. With the exception of those which were false and exaggerated, there certainly was a grain of truth in some of them. However, to resolve these problems, it was certainly possible to use our party's effective and long-established method of rectification. Chairman Mao had declined to use this method in favor of the method of the cultural revolution because what he wanted to solve was not a contradiction within the party nor a contradiction among the people. To him, it was a contradiction between the capitalist class and the proletariat and a contradiction between the Kuomintang and the communists. To overthrow the actually nonexistent so-called capitalist headquarters, it was necessary to launch a great political revolution and seize power throughout the country. After the so-called "January revolution" in Shanghai, Chairman Mao said it was "one class overthrowing the other." True, but which class was overthrowing which class?

I think the cultural revolution was an incorrect revolution using the wrong method against the wrong targets.

The Changes in the Theory of Class Struggle Were Becoming More and More Intense

If we compare what Chairman Mao said about the situation of class struggle in 1966 and his viewpoints in 1957, we can see that Chairman Mao had revised his own thinking.

In 1957, Chairman Mao concluded that "the large-scale, tempestuous mass class struggle of the revolutionary period was basically over." "There will be counterrevolutionaries, but not too many." The report "On the correct

handling of contradictions among the people" took the lesson of Stalin's overextension of the counterrevolutionary movement. In 1956, in the article "A Further Discussion of the Historical Experience of the Proletariat," Chairman Mao also criticized Stalin by saying that he should not "obstruct the sound development of socialist democracy by continuing to emphasize the intensification of the class struggle after classes have been eliminated." These two sayings of Chairman Mao were a correct appraisal of the form of class struggle after the basic completion of the social transformation of the socialist system of ownership of the means of production. [as published] This was not only against the left (which desired the intensification of class struggle) but also against the right (which regarded the class struggle as basically over and thought that there were no more counterrevolutionaries). However, the emphasis was still against the "left." The report "On the correct handling of contradictions among the people" was made on 27 February 1957. It was published on 19 June. At that time, the anti-rightist struggle had already begun. Chairman Mao revised this report and emphasized the opposition to revisionism and stressed that the ideological struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class was long-term, tortuous and at times very violent. Of course, to put it this way was to keep the report in accord with the antirightist struggle. [HK211632] On the other hand, Chairman Mao still kept the phrase "class struggle is basically over" but just attached before it the few adjectives of "large-scale, tempestuous, mass" (which were not there before) to qualify this proposition. However, the tone of the whole article was still against the "left" rather than the right. The overall impression that it gave was that while there would still be many complications, the large-scale class struggle of the "revolutionary period" was nevertheless basically over. A new era was at hand in which "the contradictions among the people must be correctly handled" so as to unite the various nationalities of the whole nation for a new struggle--the struggle against nature.

However, the development of the antirightist struggle shattered Chairman Mao's earlier thesis. The antirightist struggle was not only "violent" but so violent that even Chairman Mao himself had to admit that it was "tempestuous." The announcement of the basic completion of large-scale class struggle was closely followed by a large-scale class struggle. What did this show? Did Chairman Mao put forward a wrong thesis? Or did the antirightist campaign go too far? Now it is clear that the antirightist campaign did go too far.

One of the negative effects of the antirightist struggle was shutting the mouths of many intellectuals. They dared not criticize the shortcomings of the party's work. In the mobilization of contending and blooming, it had been promised that "those who speak are not to be blamed" and "we should let go instead of restraining." But in the end there was restraint and those who had spoken were blamed. On this, Chairman Mao said: "They are guilty. The principle of 'do not blame the speaker' does not apply to them. They have not only spoken, but they have committed themselves to actions." However, those who had only spoken and not committed to actions were convicted and labeled rightist. Chairman Mao himself also said: "There was also another type of rightist who only talked but did not act."

In actual fact, this had become "fishing" and "luring the snakes out of hiding." This method was repeatedly used so that many people still have lingering fears, are inhibited by worries and dare not believe that we are

really practicing democracy. The masses dare not criticize the party. This is harmful and dangerous to the party. During the antirightist campaign, Chairman Mao said that "their (referring to the capitalist class and the intellectuals who had served the old society) criticism of us is mostly correct and must be accepted. Only part of such criticism is incorrect and must be taken care of accordingly. It is correct for them to desire to be trusted and want to have the authority commensurate with their positions. We must trust them and give them responsibilities. Even some of the criticism of the rightist is correct and should not be written off altogether. It is lamentable that these correct criticisms were not genuinely accepted. It took more than 20 years before these policies of Chairman Mao announced in 1956 and 1957 towards intellectuals were realistically begun to be carried out.

Many people learned from the antirightist struggle that one can only praise and not criticize. This is called "revolutionary smoothness." Unfortunately, later development further confirmed that Chairman Mao did not welcome criticism.

Some people criticized Chairman Mao for his "craving for greatness and success." He refuted this by saying that he was "craving for the greatness and success of socialism." It certainly was so with the great leap forward in 1958 for it was a very good example of such craving. Chairman Mao desired to find out China's own road to the construction of socialism and even wanted to surpass Marx in his contribution to humanity. Therefore, it is understandable that he was impatient and overstepped himself in certain things. Mistakes were unavoidable due to the lack of experience. However, we cannot help saying that Chairman Mao became arrogant, impetuous and intolerant to criticism.

Chairman Mao discerned certain "leftist" tendencies in the work in 1958 and was beginning to rectify some of them. However, when Peng Dehuai put forward his proposal, Chairman Mao changed his position drastically. Judging from the proposal itself, it was correct in content, friendly and legal organizationally. However, Chairman Mao regarded it as "right opportunist antiparty program." He accused Peng of "flying the capitalist banner in the hope of recruiting his own forces to split the party," and "attempting to usurp the party and establish his opportunist party." He said that "now it is against the 'left' and not against the right." He also said that "the struggle at Lushan was a class struggle. It was a continuation of the life and death struggle between the two antagonistic classes of the capitalist and the proletariat in the process of the past 10 years of socialist revolution." [HK211636] Since the problem had been raised to the level of class struggle, it should not be confined to Peng Dehuai himself but should involve a large number of people. As a result, there was the hunt for "right opportunists" throughout the country. At first, it was the Chairman himself who leaned too much to the "left"; however, for the sake of counteracting criticism, he insisted on struggling against the right. This encouraged the erroneous "leftist" tendencies at the time. This was the primary factor for the 3 years of difficulties. But what can we say? Failures in industry were blamed on the Soviet Union, while that in agriculture were blamed on the weather. When should one blame oneself?

Practice does not substantiate the viewpoint for the intensification of class struggle. The recovery from the 3 difficult years relied on the policy of readjustment, restructuring, consolidating improvement and not on class struggle. It did not prove that "class struggle can solve everything." In early 1962, Chairman Mao once again admitted at a rally of 7,000 persons that we lacked experience in socialist construction and suggested the task of understanding the realm of necessity of socialist construction. In this speech he also appealed for the development of democracy and letting other people speak. He even proposed the principle of "not capitalizing on people's mistakes, not putting on political labels and not meting out political retaliation."

At this rally Liu Shaoqi said that the 3 difficult years were "30 percent natural and 70 percent manmade calamities." With regard to the people's commune, he said that "it might have been better if they had not established them. It had been possible to delay this for a few years." He also said that Peng Dehuai's proposal was "mostly in accord with the facts." Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that "there are certain errors in party struggle," and "certain innocent cadres were being harmed."

The facts have once again proved that those comrades who believed in the principle of "three nots" were wrong. Those who were encouraged by the principle of three nots, spoke the truth, criticized the work of 1958 and said a few words in fairness to Peng Dehuai were later purged. They included Comrade Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping.

In autumn 1962 Chairman Mao also proposed that we should "never forget class struggle." He proposed that class struggle "should be emphasized every day, every month and every year." These words were later raised to the level of a fundamental line. In 1976, Chairman Mao said: "To talk about the problem of class struggle 13 years from now, the situation will be just ripe for fresh action." When the situation is ripe, Chairman Mao wanted to intensify class struggle again. He indulged more and more in class struggle as time went by. The slogan of class struggle was used primarily against those who disagreed with him. The lesson of Stalin's "leftist errors" was long forgotten. In 1956, he criticized Stalin for his over-extension of the counterrevolutionary movement. During the cultural revolution Stalin was criticized for his "theoretical denial of class struggle." Stalin's erroneous viewpoint of "intensification of class struggle" was deliberately avoided. Class struggle was not basically over but was intensifying. The development of such thinking together with the distortion and exaggeration by Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng produced the theory of "continuous revolution under the proletariat dictatorship." This theory was the product of the lop-sided development toward the "left" of certain ideas in the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." It was a refutation of the correct thesis that "class struggle is basically over."

Despite all these, the theory of "continuous revolution under the proletariat dictatorship" had, by virtue of Chairman Mao's prestige, struck roots in the hearts of people and became the ideological preparation for the cultural revolution after many years of propaganda.

From Opposition to the Personality Cult, to Opposition to the 'Opposition of the Personality Cult'

It is also correct to say that Chairman Mao launched the cultural revolution because of the lesson of the Soviet Union's degeneration into revisionism. However, I think that Chairman Mao had not fully learned the lesson from the Soviet Union. It is precisely because of this that he repeated Stalin's mistakes.

After the Soviet Union openly discussed the problem of Stalin, RENMIN RIBAO published the articles "First Discussion" and "Further Discussion" on the discussions in the enlarged meeting of the Politburo. These two articles can still be regarded as correct from the present day perspective. With regard to Stalin's mistakes, it said: "While Stalin was highly regarded and without the country for his correct application of the Leninist line, he made the mistake of exaggerating his own role to an inappropriate proportion, thus placing his personal power against the collective leadership.... [HK211642] On the other hand, he admitted that the masses were the creators of history and that the party should never be divorced from the masses. He also admitted that democracy, self-criticism and criticism from below should be developed. On the other hand, however, he also accepted and encouraged the personality cult, and practiced personal dictatorship. This placed Stalin in the contradiction of divorcing theory from practice in his latter years."

After admitting that mistakes were unavoidable, the article continued to say that "however, as long as we strictly adhere to and try our best to develop the science of Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism, as long as we thoroughly adhere to the democratic centralism of the party and the state, as long as we conscientiously rely on the masses, serious mistakes of a nationwide and long-term scale can be avoided."

The article also said that we should learn from the lesson that "if some communists become arrogant and conceited and ossified in their thinking, they will repeat their own mistakes or the mistakes of others. We communists should have adequate understanding of this point."

Comrades, let us look at these two articles. I think many of their opinions are still relevant today. The reasons for this is that these words were unheeded or simply forgotten for as long as 25 years.

In September 1956, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reemphasized this problem in his report on the revision of the party constitution at the "Eighth Party Congress." He said that "it is obvious that it is against the principle of the establishment of a communist party to have important issues decided by one person. It will certainly lead to mistakes."

He also said that "in essence, our affection for the leader should be expressed through our concern for the interests of the party, the class and the people, and not the deification of the individual."

"The party Central Committee has always opposed the practice of sending messages of greeting and reports of successes to the leaders and opposed the exaggeration of the role of leaders in literary and artistic works. Of course, the personality cult is a social phenomenon of long historical standing and we just cannot help having certain manifestations of it in our party and social life. Our task is to persist in the party central's opposition to giving prominence to and eulogizing the individual..."

No one can avoid making mistakes. This was also written into the party constitution at the Eighth Party Congress. Thus it can be seen that this problem received greater attention at that time.

When it came to the Qingdao conference in March and April 1955, Chairman Mao began to divide the personality cult into two categories: the first type was the admiration for people such as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin which was considered to be correct. The second type was erroneous admiration which was unanalytical and characterized by blind obedience. Chairman Mao also divided the opposition to the personality cult into two categories: the first type was opposition to erroneous admiration and the other type was opposition to admiration for others but the desires for admiration of oneself.

When it came to "the ninth comment" of 1963, discussions of the personality cult changed drastically. When it discussed the mistakes of Stalin, there was not a single word about his personality cult. On the contrary, "opposition to the personality cult was criticized." It was argued that "the so-called 'opposition to the personality cult' is against Lenin's complete teaching concerning the relationship among the leader, political party, class and the masses. It is sabotaging the party's principle of democratic centralism." "This has in actual fact put the masses against the leader, sabotaged the unified leadership of the democratic centralism of the party, diffused the fighting power of the party and disintegrated the forces of the party."

Please compare this with what was said in "First Discussion" and "Further Discussion." These two articles said: "If any leader of the party or the state puts himself above the party and the masses instead of among them, he will be divorced from the masses and lose his overall wisdom over national affairs.... At the final stage of his life, Stalin indulged more and more in the personality cult and violated the democratic centralism of the party." This is the exact opposite of "the ninth comment" because it pointed out the incompatibility of the personality cult and democratic centralism. It also revealed that the personality cult was an erroneous handling of relations among the leader, the party and the masses. Was this turning against one's own words?

[HK211648] In 1958 Chairman Mao still differentiated between the correct and erroneous opposition to the personality cult. Here, such a distinction was nonexistent. Whether it was opposition to admiration of the individual or opposition to the personality cult, this kind of proposition was regarded as inherently wrong.

The revised constitution of the "Eighth Party Congress" still admitted that we had the phenomenon of worshipping the individual. Then even this article was abandoned. In his interview with Edgar Snow, Chairman Mao had already said that "by that time, I thought that having some personal worship did not matter. In fact we need some of it." Chairman Mao discerned the seriousness of Khrushchev's anti-Stalinism but failed to learn from the Stalin case. If Stalin had not made the mistake of his own personality cult and over-extended the counterrevolutionary movement, it would have been impossible for Khrushchev to purge him. Likewise, if Chairman Mao had not expressed the need for worship but persisted in the party's viewpoint on the personality cult in 1956, it would have been impossible for Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to rely on upholding the Chairman to climb to the leading position of party and state. Their so-called "upholding" was actually another name for the personality cult. It would have been impossible for Chairman Mao to launch the cultural revolution without the personality cult. Lin Biao was right on this point when he said that the first prerequisite for launching the cultural revolution was "Mao Zedong Thought and the highly esteemed prestige of Chairman Mao." "It was impossible without the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao and the absolute authority of Mao Zedong Thought."

Why Did We Make One Mistake After Another During the Cultural Revolution?

The cultural revolution began by the purge of "Hai Rui." The charges in the "Hai Rui" case was that it tried to redress Peng Dehuai. In fact, Chairman Mao himself had personally advocated Hai Rui and it was probable that it was precisely because of this that Comrade Wu Han wrote "Hai Rui censuring the emperor," "On Hai Rui" and "Hai Rui's Dismissal From Office." It was not clear whether Chairman Mao was again using the methods of "fishing" or "luring the snake from its hiding."

Chairman Mao was very sensitive to the problem of redressing the Peng Dehuai case. From the Chairman's own perspective, Peng Dehuai and Khrushchev were similar personalities and he simply could not tolerate another one of these personalities in China. Doubtless, when Chairman Mao talked about Liu Shaoqi's rightist deviation in his 1962 wall poster entitled "My Own Wall Poster," he had in mind the incident when Liu Shaoqi spoke a few words in favor of Peng Dehuai. It was also because he suspected it as redressing the Peng Dehuai case that he chose the case of "Hai Rui's Dismissal From Office" as the first target of attack during the cultural revolution. He himself had said that "the most fatal point was "dismissal." The Jiajing emperor dismissed Hai Rui from office and we dismissed Peng Dehuai from office in 1959. Peng Dehuai was also a Hai Rui."

As distinct from the fate of the upright Peng Dehuai, Lin Biao and "the best student of Mao Zedong Thought, the best in upholding the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and the closest follower of Mao Zedong." And he assumed Liu Shaoqi's position. Thus he was even more eager to promote the personality cult. The masses of innocent and artless red guards who were "the utmost" in worshipping Chairman Mao followed suit in

promoting activities of the personality cult. Chairman Mao had more trust in them than he did many old cadres. According to his initial postulation, the revolutionary committees which were to be set up after the seizure of power were to consist of the "three-in-one combination of the army, cadres and the masses."

In the beginning, Chairman Mao obviously did not want to carry out the cultural revolution for such a long time. He hoped to conclude it by 1967. However, once the cultural revolution was launched, it proceeded on its own and was not controlled by the will of men. It was not true that Chairman did not discern the danger of "ultraleftist" ideology. He tried to rectify it but to no avail. In the first place, it was because of the disruption and sabotage of Lin Biao; then it was because Chairman Mao did not resolve the root cause of the problem. Chairman Mao criticized the fanatical personality worship of the cultural revolution. For instance, he criticized the proposals to "establish extensive perogatives" and "absolute authority" as inappropriate. He had also criticized "the theory of genius." However, it was not until early 1971 when he had discovered the Lin Biao case that he told Snow that personality worship should "lower its temperature" and that the "four greatnesses are disgusting."

[HK211656] After Lin Biao died in an explosion, Chairman Mao agreed to the publication of his 8 July 1966 letter to Jiang Qing. In this letter, Chairman Mao applied the theory of dividing one into two to himself and said that he had both the courage of a tiger as well as the agility of a monkey. He also said that "the most important thing for a man is knowledge of himself." He said that he sanctioned the dispatch of Lin Biao's "18 May" speech because:

"At the April Hangzhou conference, I expressed my disagreement with the propositions of our friend. But what was the use? He still went his own way in the May conference in Beijing. The press was especially energetic in extolling the virtues of the propositions. Thus I was forced by circumstances to abandon my disagreement. I think their original intention was to suppress the ghosts with the aid of the supernatural power of Zhong Kui. "It seems that it was impossible to disagree with them. This was the first time in my life that I was forced to agree with others against my own will. Perhaps we could call this a case of subjective will failing to change the course of things." It cannot be made known to the public yet. The whole leftist group and the popular masses say so. If this is made public, their enthusiasm will be watered down and this will in fact help the rightists..." "I am not certain when this can be disclosed."

It is obvious that Chairman Mao was already aware of it and was prepared to disclose it one day. He said some humble words in order to express his disagreement with Lin Biao's excessive praises. However, he was deeply worried that his humble words might be capitalized on by others. As a result, at the end of the letter he said that "if there is an anticomunist rightist coup in China, I am sure it will be highly unstable and most probably short lived.... At that time the rightist might make use of my words to seize power while the leftists might make use of some other of my words to band together against the rightists."

Maybe Chairman Mao never imagined that our situation today would have already developed to this stage, namely, we can do all those things which have been proven correct by practice without citing the words of Chairman Mao. We will not do those things which have been proven wrong by practice even though Chairman Mao's words are cited. Of course, in so doing, we are in fact thoroughly applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Zedong Thought, that is, the unity of theory and practice. This is actually persisting in the position, viewpoint and methodology of Marxism.

With the exposure of Lin Biao, people were beginning to awake from their superstition and becoming aware that Chairman Mao had chosen the wrong successor. Of course, understanding the essence of Lin Biao required development and exposure while our knowledge of him also had to undergo a process. This is how Premier Zhou explained it at that time. Such an explanation was then acceptable. However, the "gang of four" were trying their best to keep up the [word indistinct] image of Chairman Mao. (Of course, deep inside them it was not the case. This was only their doubledealing.) For instance, Jiang Qing said that this letter revealed that Chairman Mao had already discerned that Lin Biao was not a genuine Marxist. In his article in 1975 entitled "On the Economic Basis of the Lin Biao Antiparty Clique," Yao Wenyuan said:

"In a letter written at the initial stage of the cultural revolution, Chairman Mao analyzed the inner world of Lin Biao and his followers by saying: 'I think their original intention was to suppress the ghosts with the aid of the supernatural power of Zhong Kui.' 'With the aid of' means using it as a stepping stone. Once their objectives were fulfilled, they would not only abandon the 'aid' but turn against it ferociously until they got rid of it."

Following from this line of argument, it seems that Chairman Mao had already penetrated the "inner world" of Lin Biao as early as 1966. However, one will not come to such a conclusion if one takes a closer look at Chairman Mao's letter. Chairman Mao called Lin Biao "my friend" but called Liu Shaoqi the "ghost." Chairman Mao explained Lin Biao's motive behind the "establishment of extensive perogatives" by saying that Lin Biao's original intention was to overthrow Liu Shaoqi with the aid of the Chairman's prestige. Chairman Mao was not aware of Lin Biao's ambition and conspiracy at the time. Otherwise, how could one explain the "Ninth Party Congress?" How could one explain that Lin Biao later became the heir apparent of Chairman Mao? In order to propagate the personality cult, Yao Wenyuan arbitrarily argued that Chairman Mao had already seen through Lin Biao's heart from the very beginning. This ignored the simplest facts and logic. However, this article was read by Chairman Mao and he did not cross out this paragraph.

[HK211702] In 1971 Chairman Mao criticized Lin Biao's formulation of "one sentence is as good as 10,000." This formulation came from the "18 May" speech which Chairman Mao read. In Lin Biao's original text, it said "Each one of Chairman Mao's words is the truth. One of his sentences is as good as 10,000 of ours." Chairman Mao criticized the first half of the sentence but had let go the latter half. We think that the formulation that "each one of Chairman Mao's words are the truth" is erroneous. It is even more erroneous than the formulation of "one words is as good as 10,000."

With the fall of Lin Biao, the problem of a successor became all the more urgent. If Premier Zhou was given sole responsibility and allowed a free hand to oversee everything, rectify the errors of the cultural revolution and make a realistic adjustment of all policies, it would not have been too late to set everything right again. It looked as though this was so at that time. Everything was referred to Premier Zhou down to the last detail. Zhang Chunqiao could not even finalize the manuscripts of unimportant articles in RENMIN RIBAO. He sent them direct to Premier Zhou without even bothering with the logic and grammar. As Premier Zhou was revising these articles, he shook his head and sighed "Would you please not make me a primary school teacher again." Those of us under Premier Zhou were worried that such a work load would overburden him. At that time I thought Zhang Chunqiao did it on purpose.

However, in the second half of 1972, there was trouble. On 1 August, Premier Zhou proposed the criticism of the "extreme leftist ideology." In actual fact, the criticism of the "left" was proposed by Chairman Mao. In the rectification documents of Sichuan Province criticizing Lin Biao which were authorized and sent by Chairman Mao, he said that "Lin Biao was the root cause for inciting ultraleftist ideology." However, starting from the latter half of 1972, the criticism of ultraleftist ideology became a serious crime. Since RENMIN RIBAO had published articles criticizing the ultraleftist ideology and anarchism, Zhang and Yao angrily pointed an accusing finger at the paper and launched a movement in RENMIN RIBAO. From then on, the criticism of Lin Biao was confined to criticism of the right and not the left. Criticism of the left became a forbidden zone. It was alleged that Chairman Mao had talked about this, but I have not seen any official records nor read any official communication. What I did read were records of Chairman Mao's interview with Mrs Bandaranaike on 28 June 1972. At that time, Chairman Mao was talking about the "leftist usurpation" at the foreign office. He said that "these so-called 'leftists' were actually counterrevolutionaries." "Their behind-the-scenes backer has passed away. His name was Lin Biao." When Mrs Bandaranaike talked about the Trotskyites in her country, Chairman Mao said "the more 'revolutionary' the worse. The extreme 'left' is the worst in the world."

In the beginning of 1973 it was said that there was a "leftist restoration" in the second half of 1972. This was directed against Premier Zhou. Within the newspaper office, Comrade Hu Zhiwei and I were also criticized because we had criticized the "ultraleftist" ideology which was regarded as negating the cultural revolution. At that time I really did not see it that way. Subjectively, I was still defending the cultural revolution and trying to dissociate the revolutionary power of the cultural revolution from the ultraleftist ideology Lin Biao and inciting. At that time I thought the way Zhang and Yao acted amounted to admitting that the cultural revolution was ultraleftist.

To prohibit the criticism of the left meant that the evil influences of Lin Biao could not be eradicated. This had hindered the rectification of errors in the cultural revolution and the realistic implementation of policies. This also put Premier Zhou in a very difficult position in his work. The "criticize Lin Biao campaign" of 1972 and 1973 was not met with

enthusiasm. In 1974, there was a sudden surge of vigor when they came up with the idea of criticizing Confucius. Lin Biao and Confucius were bound together and the "Duke of Zhou" was criticized by way of criticizing Confucius.

In December 1973, Chairman Mao called a Politburo meeting which was followed by his speech to commanders of the various military regions. On 29 December, a conference of party, government and military organizations attended by 400 people was convened in which Wang Hungwen communicated the message of Chairman Mao. According to Wang Hungwen's communication, Chairman Mao criticized the Politburo saying that "the Politburo does not discuss national affairs and the military commission does not attend to military affairs. If you do not change this practice, I will come here to attend the meeting. I personally have no effective proposals. I just want to come and cheer you up and talk to you face to face." [HK211710] Such a criticism was indeed serious. Chairman Mao said: "I can fight a war. If it really has to be a war, let it be. The whole world is in chaos, China is no exception. I can eat and sleep, so if there is going to be a war, I would indeed welcome it." He also said: "Prepare for war, both civil war and international war will come." "Once the war comes, it will be clear who is really willing to fight and who is colluding with the foreigners and hoping to set himself up as an emperor." "The water margin did not oppose emperors. It opposed only corrupt officials. They later accepted the offer of amnesty to serve the ruler." "If revisionism does emerge in China, everybody should watch out." After Wang Hungwen's communication, the various units were asked to "discuss it seriously. We felt very shocked after hearing the communication because we did not know the exact implications of Chairman Mao's words. Lin Biao and his followers had just been overthrown, how could there be any revisionism again? Was there going to be another civil war? These could not be slipshod words. If so, who was he referring to? Who was trying to collude with foreigners? Who had the qualifications to be emperor? Was there going to be another line struggle?"

In 1974, a massive campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius started off with a mass rally on 25 January. And Premier [Zhou] made a self-criticism at the rally and confessed that he responded to the campaign too slowly. The two counterrevolutionary clowns, Chi Quan and Xie Jingyi echoed each other clamouring that "struggle is the only way to progress, where there is no struggle there is backsliding. Where there is no struggle, there is revisionism and disintegration."

People came to realize that the failure to start the criticism of Confucius was the real issue behind the charge against the Politburo for its failure to discuss national affairs and tackle fundamental issues. The "gang of four" took the issue of the "criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius" to set off an antipremier upsurge. The newspapers were full of articles making oblique accusations. It was criticism of the Confucian school one moment and criticism of movies the next. Every area of work was delayed for the sake of criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius. Meanwhile, the legalists received much publicity because it was alleged that they emphasized dictatorship. Qin Shihuang's burning of books and burying of scholars was also highly esteemed. It seemed that it was intended to warn the intellectuals that they should not discuss the cultural revolution.

The Fourth NPC was finally convened in early 1975. Chairman Mao cautioned Jiang Qing against trying to farm a cabinet and act as backstage boss. He also showed his support for Premier Zhou by saying that "the premier is still the premier." However, Chairman Mao did not participate in the people's congress. Furthermore, it was precisely at this time that he sent his directive on theoretical problems. While the popular masses were going to study the premier's report on work of the government and discuss the problems of modernization and democracy after the Fourth People's Congress, this was immediately disrupted by the directive on the theory of capitalist dictatorship. Basically, the spirit of the Fourth People's Congress received little publicity.

It can be imagined that Premier Zhou was enduring humiliation to his work in extremely difficult conditions in order to continue the important work of the state. He finally fell ill and was hospitalized. Then came the communication on the "criticism of the water margin." Allegedly, its purpose was teaching the people about the "capitulationists." This directive reminded one of the directive of late 1973. In actual fact, since Chairman Mao had earlier censured the "gang of four," they seemed to be out in the cold. However, when Chairman Mao authorized a letter written by Yao Wenyuan on the "criticism of the water margin," these people were greatly encouraged and suddenly became very active. In the newspaper office Lu Ying shouted: "Put up all your enthusiasm as you did in the 'campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius.'"

On 8 April 1976, our beloved Premier Zhou finally died. He really left us too early. Our millions of people were immeasurably grieved. The people could not understand why our highly esteemed Chairman Mao never visited the premier during his long period of hospitalization. Those who were well intentioned said that it was because of Chairman Mao's health. However, people can still remember that precisely 1 week before the death of Premier Zhou in 1976, the new year's issue of the newspapers published news and pictures of Chairman Mao's interview with Nixon's daughter and son-in-law.

[HK211718] What is more difficult to explain was that after the death of Premier Zhou, Chairman Mao did nothing except send a floral wreath. He did not attend the mourning service nor did he write any poem or prose in mourning of the premier. He did not even say a word expressing his grief of sympathy. At least we did not hear any of these. In the mourning speech personally checked and approved by Chairman Mao, it neither referred to Premier Zhou as a close comrade-in-arms of Chairman Mao nor did it regard Premier Zhou as a great Marxist.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the party Central Committee published a series of Chairman Mao's criticisms of the "gang of four." I think Chairman Mao was dissatisfied with the "gang of four." This is the truth. But equally true is the fact that Chairman Mao had asked Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to write articles in early 1975. Furthermore, all those who opposed the "gang of four" met with an ignominious fate. This included the revolutionary masses of the Tiananmen incident and Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

Yao Wenyuan really made much of the Tiananmen incident in his briefing to the Chairman in order to deceive him. However, even in such a briefing, it was evident that the crowd at Tiananmen was primarily mourning Premier Zhou and opposing the "gang of four."

After Premier Zhou fell ill, the people were looking up to Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Comrade Deng Xiaoping made marked successes in certain areas of work in 1975. However, in order to improve certain areas of work he had to rectify some errors and make realistic adjustments to certain policies. In the end this caused the "counterattack on the rightist wind of reversing the verdict." When talking about the "gang of four" Chairman Mao said: "If the problem concerning them is not resolved in the first part of the year, leave it until the latter half of the year; if we cannot solve it this year, we can do it next year. If we cannot solve it next year, we can certainly do it the year after." However, when it came to handling the problem of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, this was done promptly and decisively. All the responsibilities of Comrade Deng Xiaoping were taken away in one blow. The "gang of four" became heroes after the suppression of the Tiananmen incident and the "criticism of Deng." Who still dared to demand the solution of the problem concerning them?

In March 1976, the party Central Committee sent Document No 4 to communicate Chairman Mao's 13 articles directive. This document has now been canceled by the party Central Committee. I think this document was canceled not because it was false, but because it was erroneous. This document was authorized and approved by Chairman Mao and not fabricated by the "gang of four." The "gang of four" only omitted the name of Weng Senhe and made no other changes. We should regard this document as an expression of Chairman Mao's own thought.

Chairman Mao once again stressed class struggle and criticized the rightist thinking which had ruled out class struggle. But this time it was connected to the "criticism of Deng." In this speech, Chairman Mao for the first time admitted that the cultural revolution was not a 100-percent successful. However, it was "basically correct except for some shortcomings," and "it was 70 percent successful and 30 percent erroneous." Among the 30 percent errors were that first, it sought to overthrow everything and second it led to full-scale civil war. However, Chairman Mao immediately made an analysis of the 30 percent errors and said that not all that it sought to overthrow was wrong. He also said we had not experienced war for many years and a war was a good exercise. In this way, it looked as though a certain part of the 30 percent errors was correct. Therefore, it actually did not amount to 30 percent. Then who was responsible for these two errors? Chairman Mao seemed to have avoided this problem. He only said that two errors had been made in the cultural revolution, but he did not say who was responsible. I think this was why Jiang Qing could tell the students of Qinghua University on 1 October 1976 that "you do not understand the 30 percent shortcomings. It was neither Chairman Mao's fault nor that of the cultural revolution groups of the party Central Committee."

However, in another paragraph of the same document, Chairman Mao talked about the great debate within the university at that time. He said: "Now the level of the masses has been raised. They no longer promote anarchism,

advocate the overthrow of everything and desire an all out civil war." Thus it looked as though the advocating the overthrow of everything and all out civil war was due to the low level of consciousness of the masses. However, in the same document Chairman Mao cautioned against blaming the masses. He said: "The masses are the real heroes while we, including me, are ridiculously childish. Most often, the level of those below is higher than those above. The masses are usually at a higher level than the leadership and the leadership is often inferior to the common laborers."

[HK211722] These few lines remind one of the Tiananmen incident. It is true that the "gang of four" deceived Chairman Mao and separated him from the masses. However, Chairman Mao himself seemed to be quite at ease with such arrangements. No one, including Premier Zhou, Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying and even Comrade Hua Guofeng, was allowed to see him. He only placed Mao Yuanxin at his side as some sort of coordinator. Chairman Mao seemed to have trusted him very much. Perhaps Comrade Wang Dongxing and secretary Zhang Yufeng could see him more often. This situation was abnormal in any case. Some time ago, the newspapers published a news release on a XINHUA reporter's interview with Lu Di [4151 5441]. The impression it gave was that at a time when the fate of the party and state was at stake, Chairman Mao still buried himself among ancient books and satisfied himself with composing poetry and verse. I also learned that after the death of Premier Zhou, Chairman Mao read through the several tens of thousands of characters in Liu Dajie's "A History of Chinese Literature" and made many revisions.

The most lamentable thing was that while "overthrow everything" and "all out civil war" were errors of the left, an antirightist campaign was proposed at the time. In addition, more people came under attack because "the capitalist roaders were still at large." The first one to be overthrown was Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Why was it so? At most, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was only beginning to rectify some of the errors of the cultural revolution and realistically implement some of the policies. (These policies were formulated by Chairman Mao himself.) He was struggling with the "gang of four" according to the directives of Chairman Mao. However, these were enough to arouse distrust against him. It seemed that Chairman Mao suspected that Comrade Deng Xiaoping would reverse the case of the cultural revolution.

"He is still not trustworthy even though he said that he would never reverse the case." It was all right for Chairman Mao to comment on the successes and failures of the cultural revolution, but not for others. Furthermore, it was during the campaign to counter the rightist reversal wind that Chairman Mao said these words. That was why no one dared make any comment. Was it not the case that all the newspapers at that time were carrying lengthy and repetitive accounts of the merits of the cultural revolution without mentioning any of its defects?

Chairman Mao said that "social practice and its effects are the standard for judging subjective desires and motives." If Chairman Mao launched the cultural revolution purely for the purpose of opposing and preventing revisionism, for the consolidation of the proletariat dictatorship and construction of socialism, and without any ulterior motives, he should have

discerned the calamitous results of the cultural revolution. The Lin Biao case should have reminded him that he had trusted the wrong person. Since the actual results were diametrically opposite to his subjective wishes, he should have made a self-criticism, rectified the 'leftist' errors, stopped the continuous massive "class struggle" and resolutely opposed the personality cult.

To some degree, Chairman Mao did adopt some measures. However, these measures were neither absolute nor thorough. Chairman Mao placed his personal prestige above the interests of the people. He could not tolerate the correction of his errors either before or after his death. In short, he could not tolerate anyone who infringed on his absolute authority. That was why he still criticized "the theory of the extinction of class struggle" while class struggle had already been magnified. That was also why he still purged the right while the "leftist" errors became very serious. Thus in that 11 years, the struggles had pushed the trend more and more to the left and to chaos. In the long run, it ended in total disorder. It was not until after his death when the party Central Committee under Comrade Hua Guofeng smashed the "gang of four" that the revolution and the party were saved.

In the mass rally attended by 7,000 people, Chairman Mao said that during that time, under the leadership of a correct line, errors could be immediately rectified; while under the leadership of an erroneous line, it was impossible to do so. After the smashing of the "gang of four," our party carried out extensive work in rectifying errors. This illustrates that our present line is correct. Some of this work of redressing cases was also carried out during the cultural revolution. Some of these were personally authorized and redressed by Mao Zedong himself. For instance, Comrade He Long was officially redressed by documents sent by the party Central Committee. Undoubtedly, Comrade He Long was framed by Lin Biao. Why was it impossible even for Premier Zhou to protect He Long? During He Long's long absence did Chairman Mao ever ask where he was? [HK211732] In the 11 years of countless false cases throughout the country, how many of them have been redressed? What delayed the redressing of so many cases which were discovered as evidently false? This cannot but cause one to suspect which kind of line was ruling throughout these 11 years.

Causes and Lessons

In short, the fact that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" could yield such extensive power and cause so much destruction was because they made use of Chairman Mao's prestige and used Chairman Mao as their banner. They would use Chairman Mao as their banner, in addition to the distortions they made, because there were really some "leftist" tendencies in Chairman Mao's thought which they could capitalize on. Chairman Mao launched the cultural revolution to oppose and prevent revisionism; but his error was that he wanted the people to agree with his personal views without reservation and demanded their unconditional and absolute obedience to his personal standard for defining Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

Whether we look at it from an economic, political or cultural perspective, the launching of the cultural revolution was unnecessary and even wrong.

The masses did not demand the cultural revolution in the first place. The cultural revolution was launched mainly because of the absolute authority of Chairman Mao. During the cultural revolution, Chairman Mao's personality cult was further developed to its limit. This personality cult was personally encouraged by Chairman Mao. Furthermore, the launching of the cultural revolution was theoretically and ideologically backed up by the so-called "theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship." Under the guidance of this theory, class struggle was created and magnified artificially so that the democratic demands of the people and the normal disagreement within the party were suppressed as expressions of class struggle. It will take many casualties and hardships to break down this kind of superstitious and erroneous theory. After this the ideas proposed by Chairman Mao in 1956 and 1957 and the Marxist principles concerning the role of the masses and the leader in history can be restored. We still have to invest a great deal of effort to criticize the two "whatevers." This illustrates that it is a tremendous task to break down such superstitions.

However, if we just blame the personality cult on the pride of one man or the conspiracy of a few persons, this cannot be regarded as an in-depth explanation.

The personality cult has deep historical roots in our society. Our country has been primarily dominated by small producers. The small producers' force of habit is very deep-rooted. Patriarchal behavior and the practice of "what I say is what counts" is still a very serious problem among the rural masses. Marx in his work "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon" made the following analysis of the small farmers: Due to their dispersed, self-sufficient and mutually isolated nature, they were unable to form a nationwide union. As a result, "they cannot represent themselves and must rely on others to represent them. Their representative must be their master, an authority high above them with unlimited governmental power. This kind of power protects them from the attack of other classes and bestows on them rain and sunshine." This kind of socioeconomic condition nurtures monarchial thinking and produces the personality cult.

It was only natural that Chairman Mao was highly esteemed among the Chinese people for the victory of the new democratic revolution. The magnificent contributions of Chairman Mao cannot be denied and the people are especially grateful to the Communist Party and Chairman Mao. However, their eulogies of Chairman Mao are unavoidably branded with certain traits of peasant consciousness. The song "The East Is Red" is characteristic of this. When compared with "The Internationale," it is clear that "The Internationale" is purely proletarian in thinking while "The East Is Red" has the mark of the peasants. "The Internationale" says "there has never been any savior nor do we rely on fairies and kings." But "The East Is Red" portrays Chairman Mao as the "savior" and compared him with the sun. When it came to the song "Sailing on the Sea Depends on the Helmsman," such ideas were further developed to the point of saying that "The growth of everything depends on the sun." And "Moistened by rain and dew, young crops grow strong." This is really "rain and sunshine bestowed from above." There was also the idea that "fish cannot live without water" and "the revolutionary masses cannot live without the Communist Party." This has reversed the

order of the fish and the water. The revolutionary masses became the fish while the Communist Party became the water.

[HK211742] The feudalistic society in our country lasted a very long time. We have made the direct transition from a semifeastal society into a socialist society without passing through the capitalist stage. In actual fact, the current slogan of "capitalist restoration" is inappropriate. Since capitalism never assumed a leading position, there can be no such "restoration." If there is going to be any restoration, it can only be the restoration of feudalism. We lack a democratic tradition while feudalistic monarchical thinking and autocratic rule have a long history in our country. This is also the social and historical root of the personality cult.

There is no doubt that Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and Kang Sheng promoted the personality cult while Chairman Mao encouraged it. However, the personality cult also found extensive acceptance among the party members and masses at large. They even participated in the creation of mistakes of the party and the nation. On reflection, have we ourselves not also cherished the personality cult on Chairman Mao?

Even so, the launching of the cultural revolution did meet with great resistance and boycott. The resistance from the old cadres was summarily expressed by the so-called "February countercurrent." The resistance from the masses was expressed in the presence of large numbers of "conservatives." Under the slogan of "the royalists were guilty and deserved the death sentence," they were all trampled down. Initially, the rebels were in the minority. But the cultural revolution depended on them because "the truth is in the hands of the minority." Here, I wish to say a few words in fairness to the rebels: Among them were bad elements who were blinded by their own desire for power. However, many of them were filled with ardor and sincerely wished to follow Chairman Mao in the revolution. Their tragedy was that they thought they were working for the interest of the revolution when they were ferreting out the old revolutionary cadres.

After analyzing the social historical conditions of Stalin's errors, the "further discussion on the experience of the proletarian dictatorship" said: "However, these objective conditions were not enough to make the possibility of making mistakes a reality. Lenin did not make any of Stalin's mistakes even though the conditions Lenin faced were more complex and difficult. Here, the determining factor is man's ideological conditions. Stalin was blinded by a whole series of victories and praise. His way of thinking had partly and seriously deviated from dialectical materialism and he fell into the trap of subjectivism. He began to indulge in the superstition of personal wisdom and authority. He became reluctant to make conscientious investigations and research into the complexities of the reality or listen to the opinions and clamors of comrades. As a result, the policies and measures which he made personally were often carried out these erroneous policies stubbornly over a long period of time and was unable to rectify his own errors in time." [sentence as printed]

One of the lessons we should learn is that we should never promote the personality cult nor give undue eulogies to any individual. The Soviet Union has had their own lessons and we have had ours. We should not commit such errors again. This lesson should also be passed down from generation to generation. From now on, no one should put himself above the party. Everyone should accept the supervision of the party and the people and listen to the voice of the masses.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS

HK030831 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2330 GMT
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[Text] The Standing Committee of the Fifth Guangdong Provincial People's Congress held its second meeting in Guangzhou on 2 February. The meeting discussed and approved the provincial planned parenthood regulations, approved the list of members of the provincial elections committee, the list of new deputy secretaries general of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, and the list of members of the judicial committee. The meeting also appointed this committee. Ou Mengjue, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, presided at the meeting.

The list of names of the provincial election committee approved by the committee is as follows: Li Jianzhen, chairman; Yin Linping, Xue Guangjun, Xiao Junying, Luo Ming, Li Xuexian, Zeng Tianjie and (Guo Qiaoran), vice chairmen; Tan Guiming, secretary general. There are 26 members of the Committee.

The new deputy secretaries general of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress are: (He Wen), (Wang Lishan), (He Baosong) and (Chen Zibin).

Tang Guangli was appointed chairman of the judicial committee of the provincial higher people's court, and (Li Lin) and (Zhang Zuozhou) were appointed vice chairmen. There are six members of the committee.

Comrade Luo Tian, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress, made a speech at the meeting. He said: Planned parenthood is a state policy which has been laid down. In the past, Guangdong achieved a certain degree of success in launching planned parenthood work. However, the natural growth rate of the population has risen continuously in the past 3 years. To speed up the building of the four modernizations, and for the sake of the strength of our state and the happiness of our people, we must vigorously advance the notion that each couple should have only one child.

Comrade Luo Tian pointed out: The Guangdong provincial planned parenthood regulations are a local law and represent the province's charter for planned parenthood. Government at all levels, all departments, popular bodies and

basic level organizations must put planned parenthood on their agenda. We must carry out universal and serious propaganda and education for the masses during the spring festival, and carry out regular propaganda and education after the festival. We must truly insure that everyone knows about and understands the great strategic significance of planned parenthood, the advantages of planned parenthood for the state, the collective and the individual, and the basic contents of the regulations.

Comrade Luo Tian stressed: We will not make economic restitution to or change the treatment of those who have already had economic sanctions or other measures taken against them on account of refusal to practice planned parenthood. We must support work in the basic levels, and insure that the policy is stable and is trusted by the people.

Many committee members spoke at the meeting.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' DEPUTY EDITOR DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM

Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 10, 14 Feb 80 HK

[1st installment of article by Wang Ruoshui: "It Is Still up to Us to Develop Socialism--A Talk on Truth Criterion and Theoretical Research"]

[10 Feb 80, p 11]

[Text] Our Theory Has Lagged Behind the Practical Situation in the International Sphere

Let me first talk about the criterion of truth. The fact that we bring up this issue now is not only of internal but also of international significance. It has been more than 100 years now since Marxism first came into existence and went through different tests in practice. How should we look at it? At the beginning of the 20th century, great victory was won in the October Revolution. Toward the end of the 1940's, the revolution in China again won a great victory. These great events have brilliantly proven the correctness of Marxism. They have also had a very far-reaching influence. Of the two major camps, imperialism was very notorious around the beginning of the 1950's, but the reputation of socialism had in increasingly greater influence over the people of the world. People had placed their hopes on the Soviet Union and China. However, in the past 20 years or so, the situation has changed. First there was the problem of Stalin in the Soviet Union, followed by the problem of Khrushchev. The Soviet Union changed. This was immediately followed by a split in the socialist camp. The "beacon" of Albania went out. Vietnam, a so-called socialist country, got in a mess and has engaged in fascism. Even China saw the emergence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who stirred up great upheavals. This is one side of the picture. On the other, however, there was a "golden age" of some 20 years for capitalism. What sort of a problem does this demonstrate? It seems to me that during those years, Marxist theory did not develop along with the development of practice. Perhaps we can thus say that Marxist theory has lagged behind the practical situation in the international sphere.

Marxist theory is divided into three parts, with the political economy part being discussed in the greatest detail. "Das Kapital" was in with the practical situation of its time. Later, however, the situation changed when things developed to the stage of imperialism. "Das Kapital" was still

correct, but certainly inadequate. Lenin, therefore, wrote his "On Imperialism" and solved the problems at that time. Nevertheless, it has been more than 50 years now since "On Imperialism" was written and the situation has gone through very great changes. Many new situations and new phenomena of capitalism have emerged in the course of its development. However, many of our comrades are still trying to understand capitalism only through reading. Of course we must study Marx's "Das Kapital" and Lenin's "On Imperialism." However, the problem is that we have merely understood capitalism from reading and that those books we read were written in the 19th or the beginning of the 20th centuries. Many changes have taken place in the past tens of years. Although the nature and basic contradictions still remain the same, many situations have actually changed. During the past years, we have closed our country to international contact and have had no understanding of the outside situation. We were isolated, did not study and knew very little about the capitalist countries. Even though we might learn something about them, we did not dare talk about it. Now that we have opened our doors and looked outside, we have felt that what we have seen does not agree very well with what we have read about. Students have put forward many questions, and theoretical circles have also realized that there are many questions which require deliberation. It would be nonsense if we said that the test of practice has proven that Marxism no longer works. However, we should admit that the test of practice has demonstrated that Marxism has not yet completely acquired a thorough understanding of capitalism. Not only did Marx fail to complete his work, but Lenin also did not complete his. Certain new phenomena of capitalism today were not only not foreseen by Marx, but also not foreseen by Lenin. There is in fact nothing strange about this since it was because they had never experienced such kinds of practice. What we need now are some books which will analyze from different perspectives the new phenomena in capitalist countries which have occurred in the past tens of years since "On Imperialism" was written and will provide Marxist answers for the new problems and new situations that have emerged. Of course, we do not now have another Lenin, and Chairman Mao did not write any such books. So what should we do? I do not think we should for some kind of genius. [as printed] We should rely on collective efforts, especially the concerted efforts of theoretical workers, to explore, study and turn out large numbers of articles and books rather than write any single book. We must acquire a new understanding and develop the Marxist political economy through years of study and discussions.

[HK210649] The Attitude That We Alone Are "Revolutionary" Is Incorrect

On the other hand, however, suppose we now had such a scientific and authoritative work which had analyzed very clearly the problems of contemporary capitalism. Would that mean that we could now completely acquire a thorough understanding of capitalism? I do not think we could say that. When would we be able to completely acquire a thorough understanding of capitalism? We would have to wait until after capitalism had perished. Only by that time would we be able to acquire a thorough understanding of capitalism by studying the whole process in which capitalism had come into existence, developed, declined and perished.

If we have not completely acquired a thorough understanding of capitalism and if our understanding is still to be further tested by practice and is yet to develop in practice, then we probably cannot go very far in our understanding of socialism. What actually is socialism? Many people have now become confused. I wrote an article "The Philosophy of a Desk" in 1964 which noted that before the first desk was made, there first had to be concept of a desk. Many comrades agreed with the ideas in the article, but some did not. Discussions may be conducted on this question. I just want to borrow the idea to explain socialism. In socialism, we first have the theories, concepts or ideals of socialism before we actually attain the reality of socialism. It is not the case that first there is a ready-made socialism presented which we then reflect and develop. Of course, the development of the socialist ideal or the theories of scientific socialism had their own objective material and historical conditions. They did not simply fall from heaven. They could only be developed under certain definite historical conditions. At this point, we must explain the development of this theory in a materialist way. However, this does not mean that some kind of socialism must first exist before a socialist theory can exist. This is by no means the case. Certainly, there are shortcomings in my article "The Philosophy of a Desk" which require some corrections. For instance, the concept of a desk itself undergoes new development in making it. Before any practice is embarked upon, one may put forward a tentative plan and have a concept. However, it would be impossible then to have a concept complete with everything. It is only when the desk is built through development and tests in the course of practice that the concept of the desk is developed in such a way that it becomes relatively complete in every respect. When this question is cited to explain the development of socialism, we should be able to understand that during Marx's period, it was impossible to have a socialist theory which would be complete in every respect. Marx only laid a foundation for scientific socialism. It is also incorrect to say that the development of the theory of scientific socialism has been completed, because socialism has not yet been pursued. Without this practice, how can we ever have a socialist theory which is complete in every respect? A theory may be developed ahead of practice, but it is complete only after the practice has been completed. Marx and Engels said very little about what a socialist society looks like, because of their scientific attitude. Unlike those visionary socialists who painted a very specific picture of socialism, they held that the determination of those specific things should be left to practice. We have somehow tested and developed the theory through the course of practice. We have somehow tested and developed the theory through the course of practice of socialism in the Soviet Union and China. At present, however, there are still plenty of problems to be studied and experiences to be summed up before we can achieve any new developments. We must build a socialism which suits the national conditions of China and develop the productive forces as quickly as possible. This should include learning the good experiences of foreign countries, such as Yugoslavia, Romania and other countries. Why have we not learned their experiences? We were obsessed with parochial arrogance in the past and used to think that we alone were "revolutionary." Now, after those years of setback, we have finally cooled our heads and are becoming a bit modest. Naturally, there are divergences of views as to what should be learned and how we should learn them. No matter how, we should seriously learn from the experiences of others and stop thinking that we are marvelous.

[14 Feb 80, p 16]

[Second and final installment of article by Wang Ruoshui [3769 5387 3055]: "It Is Still up to Us to Develop Socialism--A Talk on the Truth Criterion and Theoretical Research"]

[Text] There Is Not Just One Mold

We will discuss here the way to adhere to socialism. First of all, we should clarify the distinctions between genuine and sham socialism. Only by thoroughly criticizing the sham socialism of the "gang of four" can we adhere to genuine socialism. In addition, there is not just one mold for socialism. Under the same leading principle, we may encourage different specific ways of developing socialism. In the past, we only indiscriminately copied the experience of the Soviet Union. At that time, the Soviet Union was the only socialist country in the world, and we followed its pattern. Afterward, while criticizing the Soviet Union, we were still restricted by conventional ideas, wrongly thinking that there was only one mold for socialism. Only by comparing can we distinguish. After comparing our former methods with those of other countries, such as Yugoslavia and Romania, we realized that socialism can be developed in different ways. Therefore, to adhere to socialism, we should solve these problems. This has also shown that we can adhere to socialism only by emancipating our mind. Adherence to socialism does not mean that we should always maintain the status quo and that we should copy everything indiscriminately from others. Of course, we should do some of our work according to the methods we adopted during the past 17 years, but this is not enough. We should go on creating and solving new problems. Otherwise, we will not be able to adhere to socialism. Therefore, it is wrong to say that the four upholds are the prerequisites to the emancipation of the mind. On the contrary, we should say that only by upholding the emancipation of the mind, can we adhere to socialism. If you say you want to adhere to socialism, I would like to ask what kind of socialism you intend to adhere to? The answers of A and B will be different. To solve this problem, we should let people explore it. To do so, we should encourage the emancipation of the mind. Without the emancipation of the mind, how can we develop the theory on socialism? Without the development of the theory of socialism, how can we adhere to socialism? We should no longer be adopting some of our former methods. The "gang of four" propagated the theory of "adhering to the established methods forever." In other words, you should adhere to the established principle and line. Otherwise, you will become revisionist. Liang Xiao followed this logic in an article published in GUANGMING RIBAO: After the death of Marx, Engels followed the established principle to fight against opportunists; after the death of Engels, Lenin adhered to the established principle of Marx and Engels; afterward, Stalin pursued Lenin's established principle; Chairman Mao did the same and, therefore, our present principle should still be Marx's principle. What absolutely ridiculous metaphysics.

What I mean is that it is up to us to develop socialism. Much can be accomplished by our theoretical and practical workers in this subject. To do so, we should encourage the emancipation of the mind. It is unscientific to say

that Chairman Mao had a complete theory for the socialist period. It is right to say that he had a complete theory for democratic revolution. The practice of socialism is far from accomplished. How can we have a complete theory for socialism? In 1962, Chairman Mao put forward a proposal that we had to understand the realm of necessity for socialist construction. We have not done a good job in this respect because we are still acting blindly. Only after understanding this problem can we emancipate the mind and feel the necessity of developing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We were restricted by wrong ideas in the past and wrongly regarded the settlement of theoretical problems as the responsibility of a certain leader. This came from the Soviet Union and was also our Chinese tradition. Yao, Shun, Tang, Wen, Wu, the Duke of Zhou, Confucius and Mencius were all sages. Every dynasty had a sage. Only what they said could be regarded as criteria, which was the so-called "orthodoxy." What other people said was not valid. We should give up such wrong ideas. Theories should be formed collectively. All people, including the masses and theoretical workers may contribute to the establishment of theories and go on inventing new ones. We are all foolish people. Among a thousand foolish people, at least one must accomplish something. Putting all our accomplishments together, we will advance our theories. We became accustomed to our old habits and never used our brains. We always waited for what the central authorities and Chairman Mao said. We did what Chairman Mao said. Things are different now. We should learn many of the teachings of Chairman Mao, but we are now facing many new problems. We do not yet have the answers. We are forced to use our brains to approach these problems by using the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods. In so doing, our theoretical work will take on a new vitality and hope. Theoretical work in China will probably be extensively developed.

[HK261007] Two Sentences by Chairman Mao

How should Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought be treated? We have put forward the proposal of the four upholds, but we should not set the four upholds against the emancipation of the mind. While upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we should also emancipate the mind. Without it, we will not be able to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. What is Marxism-Leninism? What is Mao Zedong Thought? Everyone has his own answer to these questions and to Mao Zedong Thought in particular. We should be allowed to explore Mao Zedong Thought and criticize Marxism. Some people might ask: Since our constitution stipulates that the guiding ideology of our country is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, what do you mean by saying that we are allowed to criticize them? To me, this stipulation means that our party, our central authorities, our government and our leaders should work out our guiding principles and policies in accordance with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and that they should use the stand, viewpoints and methods of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to guide our work. In addition, we should spread propaganda among the masses by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This does not mean that we are not allowed to cast doubt upon or even criticize Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In the past, criticizing them was regarded as a crime. Those who did so would be arrested. During the antirightist

campaign in 1957, the two main crimes were antiparty and antisocialism. During the cultural revolution, the three anti labels were antiparty, anti-socialism and anti-Mao Zedong Thought. Lin Biao said: "Whoever opposes Mao Zedong Thought will be condemned and punished by the whole party and the whole nation."

The practice of these few years, I believe, has proven that Chairman Mao's talks in 1957 on the correct handling of contradictions among the people was basically correct. We should adhere to such correct things, although some of the expositions have already been forgotten or abandoned. For instance, the theory that class struggle has basically ended was forgotten long ago. We have to pick it up again. There are some problems which have not been solved: In the same socialist period, he sometimes said that class struggle had basically ended and at other times he said that it should be stressed every year, month and day. His statements contradicted each other. One sentence was a truth, but not another one. It is impossible to regard all of them as truth or to follow all of them. What should we do then? The only way to solve the problem is to take practice as the criterion for testing truth. We should resolutely follow those sentences which have been tested by practice. Therefore, the third plenum cited what Chairman Mao said in 1957: The large-scale and turbulent class struggles characteristic of the masses have in the main come to an end. The correctness of this statement has been proven by the practice of the past 20 years or so. Why did we not cite Chairman Mao's other sentences. The reason is that they have not yet been tested by practice or have been proven incorrect. These are not the matters simply connected with our attitude toward the leader and the banner. These are matters of the success and failure as well as the life and death of socialism in our country.

We should be allowed to criticize Marxism. This was an idea put forward by Chairman Mao in his speech delivered in 1957 concerning the contradictions among the people. He said: "Since Marxism is accepted as the guiding ideology by the majority of the people in our country, can it be criticized? Certainly it can. Marxism is scientific truth and fears no criticism. If it did, and if it could be overthrown by criticism, it would be worthless. In fact, are the idealists not criticizing Marxism every day in every way? Are not those who harbor bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and do not wish to change also criticizing Marxism in every way? Marxists should not be afraid of criticism from any quarter. Quite the contrary, they need to temper and develop themselves in the teeth of criticism and in the storm and stress of struggle." People are carrying out criticism every day both overtly and covertly. Can we forbid them to do so. Certainly not. For example, there are tens of thousands of religious believers in our country. They believe in God, Allah or Buddha. This conforms with the stipulation contained in our constitution, that is, citizens enjoy freedom to believe in religion. While praying to a god, a person is actually criticizing Marxism. Can we arrest him? Opposing socialism and opposing Marxism are two different things. Casting doubt upon socialism should also be differentiated from opposing socialism. In our country, socialism is our basic system which the majority of people support. You are not allowed to oppose it. Of course, some young people cast doubt upon socialism, because

they do not really understand what it is. They wrongly think that sharing a big pot of steamed rice all year round or enjoying an iron rice bowl is socialism. Has this anything to do with socialism? They know nothing about it and should not be blamed. We should explain to them. Opposition to socialism was to be manifested in action. For instance, you instigate a large number of people, form a certain organization or call upon people to overthrow the socialist system. If some people do so, we should not be lenient with them, because they are against the law. However, we should allow people to cast doubt upon socialism in their minds, because they are not clear and do not know much about socialism. Therefore, we should do ideological and propaganda work. Otherwise, what is the use of having people like us. We must not be too strict with those who doubt Marxism. Chairman Mao said that Marxism could be criticized. Why should we not allow people to cast doubt upon it? Among 900 million people in China, Marxists only form a small percentage. It is impossible to make the minds of all people tally with Marxism. A distinction should be made between the people within and outside the party. In the party, if a party member says that he has never believed in Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, we should ask him: What was your purpose of joining the party? Of course, even a party member might also have an anti-Marxist idea. What is subjectivism? [HK261009] Chairman Mao said that subjectivism is an anti-Marxist thing and a formidable enemy of the communist party and the people. But does the party not have considerable subjectivism? Nevertheless, we should not say: Since you oppose Marxism, you should be arrested. We should criticize and educate them. It is not strange that the masses outside the party have different kinds of non-Marxist or even anti-Marxist ideas. We should use a proletarian world outlook to reform and educate them. This is our long-term job. Various kinds of nonproletarian ideology, including anti-Marxist ideology will exist for a long time. We should educate or criticize people who possess such ideology. But we should not forbid its existence. This is what Chairman Mao maintained. How should we deal with nonMarxist ideology? If a person is our enemy, it is easy to deal with him. We can forbid him to say anything. What should we do if he is one of our people? Let him speak out and then educate and criticize him through persuasion and reasoning. Therefore, we should do the following three things: first, not fear criticism; second, not suppress criticisms, and third allow people to criticize. Is criticism beneficial to Marxism? Yes, it is. There are now people who are extremely afraid of criticism. They wrongly think that criticism will harm the banner and Mao Zedong Thought. Chairman Mao himself treated this matter differently, saying that Marxism would develop itself in the storm and stress of struggle. If nobody criticizes Marxism, it will stagnate. To avoid turning Marxism into dogmatism, one of the important measures we should adopt is to let people criticize and let a hundred schools of thought contend.

It Is Improper to Say That There Are Just "Two Schools of Thought"

There is one more question: Is it right to say that "a hundred schools of thought" can be mainly divided into [words indistinct]. That is, a bourgeois school of thought and a proletarian one? It is improper to say so. If we do, various kinds of thinking should either belong to the bourgeois or

proletarian category. In other words, you should either be proletarian or bourgeoisie. All erroneous things are attributed to the bourgeoisie. It seems that proletarian thinking should be absolutely pure, without a single contaminating mistake. All mistakes are made by the bourgeoisie. Therefore, labels should be attached on various ways of thinking. In fact, there are many ways of thinking which have class character as there also are many ways of thinking which do not have any class character. Is there any class character in the thinking of natural science, such as Einstein's theory of relativity? In the social sciences, to which class did Morgan's ancient sociology belong? This is the first question we should answer. The second is: Should classes just be divided into two categories? Should the landlord class be regarded as a class? Should the peasant class, small producers and petty bourgeoisie in towns and cities be regarded as classes. Why should we pay attention to the bourgeois class only? Since we wrongly thought that there were just two classes, we put forward the slogan "promote what is proletarian and liquidate what is bourgeoisie." It seemed that in the ideological front, we should have just combated the bourgeois ideology. (There was no such slogan as "liquidating what is feudal and promoting what is proletarian.") Actually, the influence of the feudalists is more powerful and worse than that of the bourgeoisie. Since we neglected combating the thinking of the landlord class and feudalism, they have gained ground by taking the advantage of criticizing bourgeois thinking. The third question is: How should we "liquidate" wrong ideas? Various wrong ideas among the people should be criticized. However, ideological problems can be solved only through persuasion, not by coercion. We should not adopt crude and coercive measures to deal with ideological struggle. Criticism should be carried out in a careful and reasonable way.

[HK261011] Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and that adviser made use of the banner of "opposing and preventing revisionism." The so-called opposition and prevention of revisionism was originally a campaign to oppose and prevent some people from revising the basic principle of Marxism. The campaign was later turned into one of establishing the absolute authority of the leader. The act of insuring that China would never change its color meant the establishment in a large and particular way of the absolute authority of the leader. Every sentence of this authority was to be absolutely correct and not tested by practice. During his life or after his death, if anyone dared to comment or correct what he had said, he would be accused of acting as Khrushchev did and opposing Mao Zedong Thought. He was, therefore, a scoundrel who should be "condemned and punished by the whole party and the whole nation." As a result, in opposing and preventing revisionism, the cult of the personality developed. In 1956, we drew a lesson from the experience of the Soviet Union and wrote an article entitled "On the Historical Experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship." We criticized Stalin's cult of the personality. In his report on the revision of the constitution of the Chinese Communist Party at the Eighth Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping dealt with this subject, saying: "Our affection for our leaders is, in essence, our affection for the interests of the party, class and people. This does not mean that we should deify individuals." He also stressed that we should not "eulogize the virtues and achievements of individuals." However, in antirevisionist articles published in 1963 when the problem of Stalin was brought up, Stalin's cult of the personality

was not mentioned at all. On the contrary, our criticism of the cult of the personality was condemned. This further encouraged the cult which brought grave consequences. During the cultural revolution, we only stressed the importance of the great teacher, but never said he should learn from the people. It seemed that people should only learn from the leader, but that it was unnecessary for the leader to learn from the people. It was only stressed that the people should be boundlessly loyal to the leader, but we never said that the leader should also be loyal to the people. During the cultural revolution, we propagated the "three loyal-to movement" which was imbued with feudal colorings. We did so for several years and the wrong idea was deeply rooted in the people's minds. Therefore, we should bring order out of chaos and solve all these problems. A great deal of strenuous tasks should be accomplished in the campaign to emancipate the mind.

In a word, what I emphasize is: Only by adhering to the criterion of practice can we thoroughly emancipate our minds; only by emancipating our minds can we develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; and only by developing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can we adhere to them. Therefore, in the final analysis, only by adhering to the principle of taking practice as the sole criterion for testing truth can we adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG MAGAZINE REPORTS ON HUA INTERVIEW

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[Article by Lei Wenpu [7191 2429 3302], special correspondent of the magazine: "Hua Guofeng, CCP Chairman and State Council Premier, Answers Overseas Scholars' Questions"]

[Text] Among the various activities during the China visit of the overseas particle physicists, the highlight was their interview with Premier Hua Guofeng.

On 16 January, the last evening of their activities in Beijing, two automobiles sent 40-odd scholars and their families to the Great Hall of the People. Upon arrival, Hua Guofeng and others including Fang Yi, vice premier and director of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, were already waiting at the entrance to welcome them.

After shaking hands and taking photographs, Hua Guofeng began his conversation with the scientists. Originally the scientists thought that Hua Guofeng's interview time would not last very long--at most half an hour to an hour. However, after the conversation started, Hua Guofeng talked for an hour and then he fully answered the questions enthusiastically raised by the scientists and their families. It was quite unexpected that the whole interview would last 2 and a half hours.

Hua's conversation was centered around his view of the international situation in the 1980's. He stressed that the world situation of the 1980's will be marked by "more turbulence and more tension." The several hot spots in the world today are first the Middle East, second Indochina and third Africa. The "temperature" in these hot spots is very "high," and the hottest is the Middle East.

Hua Guofeng went on to say that the Middle East produces a lot of oil, and in order to secure this strategic resource, the Soviet Union [words indistinct] in this region. When it invaded Czechoslovakia the Soviet Union could still raise the banner of the "theory of limited sovereignty" for the socialist big family. However, the current invasion of Afghanistan conspicuously extends hegemonism to the territory of a nonaligned Islamic nation in the Third World. The Soviet Union claimed that it had been invited by Afghanistan

to send its armed forces there. However, reports from foreign news agencies regarded this reason as unfounded. Who would invite another country to send its armed forces to destroy his own regime and to kill himself?

The voting in the UN emergency meeting revealed that the people of the whole world have further recognized the nature of hegemonism. The vote of the resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from Afghanistan was passed with more than 100 votes for, 18 against, 18 abstentions and 12 countries failing to participate in the voting.

In Indochina, the Soviet Union and Vietnam signed a treaty of friendship the year before last, and one clause in the treaty involved a military alliance. Under Soviet patronage, Vietnam launched a military invasion against Kampuchea. Vietnam's invasion has been met with many difficulties Democratic Kampuchean forces have continued to fight and the difficulties of Vietnam's forces in Kampuchea have grown greater.

Will the Soviet Union Launch a Large-scale Offensive?

Although the Soviet Union has deployed a million troops to the north of our country, if it wants to seriously fight a war with us it will not be a war of 1 or 2 years fighting. Today's China is no longer the China of the past. On the other hand, the Soviet Union's main military strength is in Europe, and leaders of West European countries have become more and more aware of the Soviet threat. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan helps to encircle Europe, and this is something the European leaders can perceive. Will the Soviet Union attack West Europe? It must consider the fact that China is to its rear.

While they were alive Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou raised the issue of opposing hegemonism. After crushing the "gang of four," we signed a treaty of peace and friendship with Japan and then established diplomatic relations with the United States. We have improved relations with West Europe and strengthened our links with the Third World. All countries must unite together for the struggle against hegemonism.

After talking about the world situation, Hua Guofeng also briefly mentioned some problems within the country. He said that China made a very strong determination last year to carry out economic readjustment. The purchase prices of farm products, sideline products and the wages of workers in the cities were raised. The state's expenditures have increased a great deal. Last year the situation of agricultural and sideline production was very good indeed. The supply of pork was greatly improved, and at present in some cities there is excess pork. If the excess supply is not sold during the spring festival, it must be thrown away. The level of consumption of our country's people is still very low. After the price rise for meat and the payment of allowances to the workers, people can use the allowances to buy other goods such as material for clothing. The situation of production for industries other than agriculture has also been very good; in particular the growth rate of light industries has increased.

Since the second session of the Fifth NPC, we have stressed democracy and the legal system, and the situation of stability and unity has gradually improved. But some problems have occurred, for example, those of policies concerning intellectuals and of housing.

[HK210810] We Must Base Ourselves on Self-transformation

China's four modernizations must still rely on independence and self-reliance. But this does not mean a closed door policy. China must still actively learn from the advanced experiences abroad, but we must base ourselves on self-transformation. Many countries hope to provide loans to China. Foreign loans can speed up China's construction, but they must be repaid. Lending without being able to repay will be detrimental to China's reputation. We Chinese mean what we say, and enjoy a good reputation abroad. If we want to obtain loans from foreign countries we must carefully consider our ability to repay them.

China's modernization is different from Japan's case. Japan has its own characteristics; it does not produce raw materials itself and its military expenses are a very low proportion of the GNP. China's characteristics are 1) the population is large while the level of production is relatively low. 2) China cannot rely solely on imports. Even if China relies on imports there will not be such a large world market to supply China's needs. Furthermore, sole reliance on imports will necessitate huge expenditures, and this is not the road we are going to take. Presently China has 350,000 to 400,000 enterprises, and they are what China depends on for modernization. We cannot put them aside to carry out modernization.

We Must Properly Evaluate Ourselves

China must properly evaluate its own level. Even some foreign experts who have come to China have been surprised at its existing foundation. China must get to know its own characteristics and study the way to take to achieve modernization. The pace of modernization must be more steady and proper; the tempo required must be fast, but development in the various sectors must be made according to appropriate proportions and product quality must also be raised.

Answering Questions of Concern to People Abroad

Science and technology are an important aspect of the four modernizations. China must continue to make conscientious efforts; it must train a team of scientific research personnel and at the same time raise the whole nation's level of science and culture.

After Hua Guofeng finished talking about the world situation and the progress of China's modernization program, those present enthusiastically raised numerous questions. Hua answered every question, and the following is a summary of his answers.

What Is the Policy Toward Taiwan?

Question: What is the Chinese Government's policy toward Taiwan? When will conditions be ripe for reviving peace talks with the Taiwan authorities?

Hua: Last year the Chinese Government published the "Message to the Compatriots in Taiwan." It contains the major policies concerning Taiwan, negotiations must come about step by step, and it is difficult to decide when the conditions will be ripe. In simple words, China's policy concerning Taiwan is "considerably magnanimous." Taiwan's social system may be transformed gradually. For how to transform it, we can listen to the opinion of the people on Taiwan. If Taiwan has difficulties, we can even give it protection. As for foreign investors in Taiwan, when our motherland is unified in the future we will also protect their interests. You may read the "Message to the Compatriots in Taiwan." It is relatively more accurate.

Question: Modernization needs to be carried out independently, but the import of advanced foreign products like communication equipment, data processing equipment, computers and photocopying machines will help to spur on modernization. What is China's policy in this respect?

Hua: We have imported some sophisticated equipment which included computers. Our country's standard in manufacturing computers is low but we must try to bring about advances. The import of foreign products needs planning and consideration of our country's ability to pay in foreign exchange. Last year our country's foreign trade figures grew by 30 percent. If we want to buy more we must also develop foreign trade well. Our country's trade with Japan grew fastest, while our trade with the United States and the West European countries, West Germany in particular, also increased a great deal.

Young People's Opinions Not Accepted?

Question: We read from many magazines overseas that such imports are a success in some cases and a failure in others. When China imports some equipment it does not accept the opinions of young people with practical working experience. In the future will such opinions be accepted?

Hua: In the past we imported some steel and chemical plants and the achievement was satisfactory. Have there been any contradictions in the import process? Yes, there have been, but the overall situation is not too bad. In the past, some departments did not participate in the actual talks about certain imported items. In some negotiations the department heads, and representatives of foreign trade units, banks as well as science and technology departments concerned were all present and the opinions of various parties were considered together. It can be said that some cases were handled well and some badly. In the past, we have accumulated a great deal of experience and now we need to sum it up to insure that we do a good job of future import work.

[HK210818] Question: What is the relationship between science and politics?

Hua: The topic is too wide, but the leading cadres of the science departments must pay great attention not to direct blindly. To do economic work one must respect the objective laws of economic development, and there is a similarity in doing science and technology work.

Question: I live in West Europe where the countries pay great attention to the issue of equality between the sexes. Does China do something similar?

Hua: We are paying great attention to this issue.

Question: I wish to ask two questions. First, the implementation of the four modernizations program necessitates the import of funds and technology and the earning of foreign exchange through exports. Should China's exports be based mainly on energy products or on the development of high quality industrial products? Second, has the government made plans for the training of scientific management personnel?

Hua: We are now exporting some petroleum, but the quantity cannot be too large. We are beginning to make great efforts to develop external trade and will export more raw materials, but we cannot permanently rely on the export of raw materials. It is necessary to develop more industrial products for export. Some countries are afraid that China's development of external trade will take away their world markets, but in fact China has a very large internal market which has a large demand for commodities and the proportion of products for export is very limited. The training of scientific management personnel is already within our work schedule. China's population is big and we must raise the level of scientific and technological knowledge. More qualified personnel are also needed for the industrial technology departments to improve the variety of products.

Question: Chairman Hua, you have practical experience of working in the countryside. Now that China's rural population is so large, would you please talk about how to reduce the rural population? We note that at present the idea of rearing children to provide for old age is still very firmly held in the countryside.

Hua: China has done some work in relation to this issue. The communes will give assistance to elderly people without children. But in the countryside there is still difficulty in implementing population planning. Rural families still harbor the concept of continuing the family line by producing a male heir. If the first born child is a male it will be all right, but if it is female it will not do. In Europe or America when children grow up they break away from the family, leaving their parents alone. There are some people in these countries who admire the family concept of the Chinese.

Question: I am not a physicist but just a housewife living in the United States (the person raising this question was a family member of an overseas scholar). During this tour I have seen something which seems irrational. China's foreign exchange is in short supply but there instances of carelessness in buying foreign goods. For example, in a guest house some imported vacuum cleaners are lying idle, but they are of an inferior brand. Why

was the money not saved and used to buy some higher quality ones or to buy some other useful things for the physics institute?

Hua: Though this is a minor point, it really reveals inadequacies in decision making. Your opinion is very good and we must pay more attention.

Question: There exist some youth problems within the country. In the Guangzhou streets I saw many young people idling around. When I talked about this with other people they all attributed it to the cultural revolution. But people 20 to 30 years old are also the country's wealth. How can they be abandoned and left alone?

Hua: These young people could not study at a time when they should have been. They must not be discriminated against. The state has the responsibility of educating them. In order to educate them well, it is necessary to recognize their strengths and at the same time to handle their weaknesses correctly.

The Issue of Hong Kong's Lease

Question: Chairman Hua, the lease will expire in 1997. Will you tell us about the Chinese Government's policy towards Hong Kong?

Hua: The Chinese Government's policy concerning Hong Kong has been consistent. Hong Kong is an advantage to China's four modernizations construction; it can make contributions and this must be brought into play. When I visited the United Kingdom, Mrs Thatcher also asked the same question. My answer was that in whatever way China solves the Hong Kong problem, China will pay attention to the interests of the investors there. At present our relations with Hong Kong are very good. Guangdong and Shenzhen have been set up as special areas which will have closer relations with Hong Kong in the future.

[HK210828] The Concept of Ranking Cadres According to Seniority Must Be Altered

Question: The promotion of China's cadres is very often based on seniority computation. Should this situation be altered?

Hua: We have been studying this problem with great attention.

Fang Yi: This concept of ranking cadres according to seniority must be changed gradually.

Question: In Yuetan Park I saw a big-character poster addressed to you complaining about a young person having been murdered. There was also some blood-stained clothing along side. Do you ever get to read such big-character posters?

Hua: Such posters are regularly rounded up and sent to us for reading.

Question: Recently, we have been touring different places. On the great wall, some souvenirs have no Chinese characters on them and some shops at tourist spots do not allow China's people to enter. This made me feel ill at ease.

Hua: Serious attention must be paid to this matter.

Like Travelers Returning Home

It seemed Premier Hua Guofeng was not yet in the mood to end answering our questions. The scholars present seemed to have many more questions and opinions to voice. Unfortunately, the time was very late. At a hint dropped by Qian Sanqiang, Yang Chen-ning took an opportunity to express their thanks. Then Lee Tsung-dao made a moving speech. He said that many of the scholars present had returned to China for the first time, like travelers having just returned home. According to rough estimates there were more than 30,000 Chinese-born scientists overseas specializing in some 20 different fields and their influence is very great indeed. Now contact had extended from point-contact to line-contact and in the future there will be face-to-face contact. China has a good foundation in many respects and in the future it will attain first-class standard in the world. At that time overseas scholars will return not only to exchange knowledge but also to gain the opportunity to learn as us.

Premier Hua Guofeng shook hands and said goodbye to each of the overseas scholars and gave them autographs. When they left the Great Hall of the People it was nearly 2000. The city of Beijing was already enveloped in the curtain of night and lights had begun to glitter in the houses.

January was one of the coldest months for Beijing. At night the inhabitants stayed home to keep warm and there were only a few pedestrians. Walking in the peaceful streets, many scholars were filled with mixed feelings. They were pondering the conversation concluded, thinking about the future of China and the world in the 1980's.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' REPUDIATES CAMPAIGN TO CRITICIZE LIN BIAO

OW210116 Ba Yi Radio [clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 20 Feb 80 OW

[Text] As you know, the campaign to criticize Lin Biao was not begun following the downfall of the "gang of four." It was a purge launched by the "gang of four" to liquidate their opponents within the party and army and to suppress the people. Under the pretext of criticizing Lin Biao, hundreds of thousands of people were dismissed from their posts, sent to reform through labor or unjustly persecuted. After the "gang of four" were overthrown, some people said: "We must set right things which have been thrown into disorder and to reverse again the history which has been turned upside down." However, as soon as they assumed power, they linked the "gang of four" with the campaign to criticize Lin Biao and called for in-depth criticism of Lin Biao in seeking to further persecute so-called "sworn followers" of Lin Biao within the party and army and to willfully attack the PLA cadres who had little connection with Lin Biao.

It has to be noted that it is erroneous to place Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on a par and criticize two completely different types of things and persons at one time. In fact, Lin Biao and his supporters in the party Central Committee and Defense Ministry were the ones in our party and army who first opposed the "gang of four." When the "gang of four" expanded their influence and, relying on Chairman Mao's support, extended their sinister hands to the army, it was Lin Biao who, together with comrades Yang Chengwu, Fu Chongbi and Yu Lijin, resisted the conspiracy of the "gang of four" to usurp the party and state power, and subsequently, together with comrades Huang Yongsheng, Gu Huizuo, Wu Faxian and Li Zuopeng, exposed and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the scheme of Jiang Qing, Wang Hongwen and Zhang Chunqiao to "use the young to lead the old" within the army.

The coup planned by Lin Biao and leaders of PLA general departments, arms and services and military regions resulted from the serious situation in the party and army caused by the ambitious scheme of Jiang Qing and Wang Hongwen to usurp power by "holding the emperor and acting in his name." Although the coup failed and Lin Biao (?was killed), the action by Lin Biao and other army leaders inspired the political coup d'etat to overthrow the "gang of four" after Chairman Mao's death. Therefore, we must give a positive appraisal of this coup by seeking truth from facts.

Regrettably, some people in the central authorities, swayed by personal feelings, have persistently distorted historical facts, linking Lin Biao and other army leaders who opposed the "gang of four" with the "gang of four" and making Lin Biao and other army leaders share responsibility for crimes which they had nothing to do with. Some people in the central authorities attack and persecute army cadres they dislike under the pretext of eliminating the "factionalist setups of Lin Biao." For instance, a leader of the CCP Central Committee's Military Commission and the PLA General Staff Department, in purging a large number of military cadres, has assigned his confidants to important army posts.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

JIANGXI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS

HK230707 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT
22 Feb 80 HK

[Summary] The second meeting of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened in the Jiangxi guesthouse on 22 February. "The agenda of the meeting includes studying and discussing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report on the current situation and tasks, listening to a report conveying the spirit of the national symposium on direct elections at county-level and a report on trial-point work in direct elections at county-level in the province, listening to and considering a report on the execution of the province's 1979 national economic plan and the arrangements for 1980, and appointing cadres and so on."

Yang Shangkui, chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, made a speech in which he put forward demands on making a success of the meeting. He stressed: "The emphasis of this meeting is on studying and discussing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's recent report on the current situation and tasks. This extremely important report has summarized to a high degree the three main tasks facing the whole party and the people of the whole country as we enter the 1980's, explained the four indispensable premises for achieving Chinese-style modernization, and prominently stressed the importance and urgency of upholding and improving party leadership in the current stage. In accordance with the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the line and principles laid down by the third plenum, and in connection with the actual situation in the country, this report has put forward and answered many important questions of principle that are of concern to the whole party and the people of the whole country. This report is highly appropriate and strongly convincing. It is of extremely important guiding significance for uniting the thinking of the whole party and the people of the whole country, consolidating and developing the excellent situation, further promoting stability and unity and speeding up the pace of the four modernizations. Studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report well is extremely important for exercising the powers of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, doing a good job of our work, and making a success of this meeting."

Present at the meeting were Liu Junxiu, Li Yizhang, Luo Mengwen, Zhang Yuqing, Ye Changgeng, Li Fangyuan, Gu Jiguang and Xie Xianghuang, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. Also present as observers were Liu Bin, president of the provincial higher people's court; Chen Keguang, chief provincial procurator; and responsible comrades of the Jiangxi branch of XINHUA, the JIANGXI RIBAO and Jiangxi People's Broadcasting Station.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI RADIO' ON DENG XIAOPING'S STAND AGAINST FREEDOM

OW261825 Ba Yi Radio [clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 26 Feb 80 OW

[Summary] Speaking at the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists that was held late last year, Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "At present, sustained efforts should be made to help writers and artists continue to emancipate their minds and break loose from the mental shackles imposed by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.' The bureaucratic way of doing things must be discarded. Administrative orders in the sphere of literary and art creation and criticism must be abolished." What was pointed out by Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping has given tremendous inspiration to the people of the whole country and aroused the creative enthusiasm in China's literary and art circles.

"However, a series of instructions that call for revising the constitution, abolishing the four major freedoms, and tightening the control of literary and art works issued recently by Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping have turned the people's small hopes for democracy and freedom into vapor. Many intellectuals who were [words indistinct] in the 1950's, particularly those who were victims of ruthless persecution during the Great Cultural Revolution, cannot help recalling the terrible dangers of writing. Especially since strict limitations have been imposed on the contents of films, many playwrights and directors have been walking on thin ice. The 'One August' film studio has now suspended the filming of several movies that it had decided to produce in the past. Some directors have submitted the unfinished films to higher authorities for reexamination. Meanwhile, some scripts have been returned to writers for revision. The development of such a situation will definitely eliminate the vivid atmosphere that has appeared in the literary and art circles since the downfall of the 'gang of four.' The masses of people cannot understand why genuine democracy and freedom cannot materialize in our country."

Young intellectuals of Wuhan put it well by asking: "What kind of democracy is being promoted in China?" "Is it possible for the Chinese people to have democracy?" "Are eating, working, sleeping and shouting support and 'long live' the bound duty of the Chinese people of the formula of life?" "Does the freedom of speech and the press stipulated in the constitution have anything to do with the Chinese people?" "Why cannot the people, writers and artists remove the stumbling block of the four modernizations and concentrate on their own work?"

Chaos has been eliminated and order restored in our country. In order to achieve a political situation of stability and unity, it is important to make the masses of people fully enjoy democracy and freedom.

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

ANHUI TEA PARTY--Representatives attending the current Anhui provincial meeting to commend advanced units and model workers in various fields attended a tea party sponsored by the provincial commissions, offices and mass organizations on the afternoon of 22 February. Present on the occasion were responsible persons of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress and the provincial people's government (Lan Ganting), Ying Yiquan, Meng Jiaqin, Yang Jike, and Meng Fulin. The representatives hailed the great significance of the current provincial meeting to commend advanced units and model workers and pledged still greater efforts to promote production. At the end of the party, Comrade Su Yu, secretary of the Anhui Provincial CCP Committee, addressed leaders of the various delegations attending the current provincial meeting. He urged the advanced units and model workers to redouble their efforts to promote production in the interest of the four modernizations. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Feb 80 OW]

FUZHOU CONGRESS SESSION--The second session of the Seventh Fuzhou People's Congress was held from 1 to 4 February. Cai Liangcheng, chairman of the Fuzhou Municipal Revolutionary Committee, delivered a work report. Some 600 representatives from various fronts in the municipality took part in the session. They discussed the important changes in the municipality in the past year and put forward many suggestions for the work of the fronts. Through deliberation and discussion, the participants elected the chairman, vice chairmen and members of the Standing Committee of the Fuzhou Municipal People's Congress as well as the mayor and vice mayors. Cai Liangcheng was elected chairman. The second session of the Fifth Fuzhou CPPCC Committee was held in Fuzhou from 30 January to 5 February with the participation of 285 members from all circles. [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 13 Feb 80 HK]

LIANYUNGANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS--The first session of the Sixth Lianyungang Municipal People's Congress in Jiangsu was held from 6 to 11 February. The session emphasized development of industry, modernization of port facilities and expansion of foreign trade. The

people's congress elected (Nei Zhijing) chairman of the Standing Committee of the Lianyungang Municipal People's Congress. (Wang Xiaofeng), (Zhang Shaolin), (Zhou Xiaozhou), (Wang Xiaolou), (Zhang Sulun), (Wang Zhengyao), (Nie Zhicai) and (Wang Youxi) were elected vice chairmen. (Geng Jiemin) was elected mayor of Lianyungang Municipality. Among those elected vice mayors were (Geng Shiping) (female), (Gu Xinzong), (Xu Hejin), (Liu Yong), (Gu Sheng), (Gao Zhao), (Xu Jinde) and (Liu Yilong). (Hou Yichen) was elected president of the Lianyungang Municipal Intermediate People's Court. The first session of the Fifth Lianyungang Municipal CPPCC Committee was also held. (Gao Xinyu) was elected chairman of the Lianyungang Municipal CPPCC Committee. [OW210602 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Feb 80 OW]

SICHUAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE--The Standing Committee of the Fifth Sichuan Provincial People's Congress recently held its second meeting in Chengdu. Chairman Du Xinyuan presided. Present were Vice Chairmen Zhang Xiushu, Liu Ziyi, Tong Shaosheng, Li Zhongyi, Gu Zhibiao, Wu Jinghua, Ma Shitu and Liu Yunbo; Vice Governors Qiao Zhimin and Guan Xuesi; Zhang Ziyi, president of the provincial higher people's court; and Qin Chuanhou, chief provincial procurator. (Zhang Zhigen), deputy director of the provincial civil affairs bureau, made a report conveying the spirit of the national symposium on direct elections at county level and the speech made by Comrade Peng Zhen at the symposium. A report was also delivered on trial-point work in direct elections in two Sichuan counties. The meeting looked into setting up a provincial elections committee and decided that further trial-point work should be carried out in all prefectures and municipalities in the first half of this year in preparation for holding direct elections at county level and holding county people's congresses in the second half of the year. The meeting also appointed three deputy secretaries general of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. [HK240548 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 23 Feb 80 HK]

ZHEJIANG CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE--The ninth session of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Zhejiang Provincial CPPCC Committee opened on 24 February. Comrade Mao Qihua, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, is presiding over the session and has made a speech. Items on the agenda of the session include: Study and implement Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important speech on the current situation and tasks, attend the second session of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress as observers, and hear and study reports on the handling of proposals and on setting up relevant organizations. Attending the session are vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, He Kexi, Yu Jiyi, Wu Youxin, Wang Jiwu, Zhou Qingxiang, Chen Lijie, Jiang Ximing, Cui Dongbo, (Peng Ruilin) and (He Zhibin). [Text] [OW241427 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Feb 80 OW]

ZHEJIANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS--The second session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Zhejiang Provincial People's Congress opened on 24 February. Comrade Wang Fang, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, spoke at the meeting. The main theme of the session is to conscientiously study and implement Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report on the current situation and tasks and at the same time to discuss a number of work problems. Attending the meeting are vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, Liu Zizheng, Li Yuhua, Li Lanyan, Wang Qidong and Zhu Zuxiang. All the members attending the ninth session of the Standing Committee of the Fourth Zhejiang Provincial CPPCC Committee are present at the meeting as observers. Also present as observers are Gao Wenquan, president of the provincial higher people's court, and (Zhang Shixiang), chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate. [Text] [OW241427 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Feb 80 OW]

XIAN CPPCC SESSION--The Xian Municipal CPPCC Committee held the eighth session of the Sixth Standing Committee on the morning of 19 January. The session unanimously decided to hold the second session of the Sixth Xian Municipal CPPCC Committee from 26 January to 3 February 1980. (Zhao Wuxuan), chairman of the Xian Municipal CPPCC Committee, presided over the session. [HK270817 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Jan 80 HK]

BEIJING GEOLOGY MINISTRY MEETING--Beijing, 7 Feb--On 6 February the party organization of the Ministry of Geology held a meeting attended by 43 members of democratic parties, including the China Democratic League, the China Association for Promoting Democracy and others, who are staff members of the ministry as well as of its subordinate organs in Beijing. Sun Daguang, secretary of the party organization of the ministry and minister of geology, called on the participants to be promoters of unity and stability, of the four modernizations and of the reunification of the motherland. All the participants at the meeting expressed their wish to assist the party organization of the ministry to further implement the policy towards intellectuals, promote stability and unity and make intellectuals play active roles in socialist modernization. Also present at the meeting were Ye Duyi, deputy secretary-general of the Central Committee of China Democratic League, and Li Yi, deputy secretary-general of the Jiu San Society. They expressed a wish that members of democratic parties would make new contributions to the cause of geology under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. [OW120443 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1818 GMT 7 Feb 80 OW]

BELJING PRISONERS' STATUS--Beijing, 14 Feb--A number of prisoners in the Beijing municipal prison were released on parole today in recognition of their good conduct while two other prisoners were given additional sentences because of new crimes committed while in prison. These actions were taken by the Beijing Municipal Intermediate People's Court in accordance with the spirit of the newly promulgated criminal law which stresses the need for combining punishment with leniency. Li Guanghai, judge of the collegiate bench of the court, announced these verdicts at a meeting held today. Xing Zhonghe, deputy warden of the prison, called on the prisoners to admit their guilt and undertake reform in order to win their early release. [OW192102 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1649 GMT 14 Feb 80 OW]

TAIYUAN CADRES SET EXAMPLE--Taiyuan, 18 Feb--The Standing Committee members of the Taiyuan Municipal CCP Committee in Shanxi have developed the party's fine traditions and improved leadership by not seeking special privileges in living conditions. Wang Xiujin, first secretary of the municipal party committee, and other leading cadre have taken the lead by returning their official cars to the motor pool and will use their cars only on official business. Li Tingfeng, deputy secretary of the municipal party committee, who is also in charge of industrial departments, has resolutely refused to accept TV sets, radios and other products presented to him as gifts by some plants. [OW210825 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0121 GMT 18 Feb 80 OW]

JIANGSU COUNTY CONGRESS--The first session of the Seventh Taicang County People's Congress was held from 27 to 31 January. The 566 deputies elected directly by 300,000 electors in the county took part in the congress to discuss plans for promoting the four modernizations. Li Zhizhong, vice governor of the provincial people's government, attended and spoke at the opening ceremony. All members of the Fifth Taicang County CPPCC Committee also attended the county congress as observers. The deputies elected the chairman, four vice chairmen and ten members of the Standing Committee of the county congress. They also elected the head and six deputy heads of the county people's government, the president of the county people's court and the chief procurator of the people's procuratorate. [OW061421 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 5 Feb 80 OW]

SHANDONG PEASANT PENSIONERS--Jinan, 6 Feb--Sixty-four aged peasants in the Taojiakuang Production Brigade in Weihai City, Shandong Province, have received pensions totalling some 10,000 yuan in time for the Chinese traditional spring festival, which falls on February 16. The brigade started the pension system 3 years ago. The city's seven rural communes with 195 production brigades, now has 17,000 peasants--10 percent of the entire population--retired on pensions. In most brigades, the retirement age is 65 for men and 60 for women. Pensions in general run between 100 and 150 yuan for each person each year. Some brigades, the official said, are able to provide pensions as high as 300 yuan. Agricultural development in the rural communes in Weihai City has been rapid in the past 3 years. Total agricultural income in 1979 was 16 percent higher than in 1978. The distribution of income increased to about 217 yuan per capita. Public welfare funds also rose. [OW061421 Beijing XINHUA in English 1237 GMT 6 Feb 80 OW]

SHANGHAI PRODUCTION SAFETY MEETING--The Shanghai municipal economic commission, construction commission, national defense industries office, trade union council, public security bureau and labor bureau on 5 February held a joint meeting on production safety and fire prevention. It called on all industrial and mining enterprises in the city to immediately launch a safety check for the coming spring festival. Vice Mayor Yang Ti addressed the meeting. [OW061421 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 Feb 80 OW]

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

DENG XIAOPING DIVULGES MILITARY SECRETS TO U.S.

OW230016 Ba Yi Radio [clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT
22 Feb 80 OW

[Text] The consolidation of the national security work is very urgent and necessary. As a matter of fact, the security system was torn down by the "gang of four." Running amuck during the cultural revolution, the gang's henchmen collected and distributed at will classified documents of the party, government and army organizations to usurp the party and state power. The "gang of four" also defied the party discipline and state law by divulging state secrets to foreigners. In order to foster her popularity in the United States, Jiang Qing handed over many party and government classified documents to American woman writer (Witik) for her research in writing the book "Comrade Jiang Qing," a vain attempt to glorify Jiang Qing.

Under such circumstances, many comrades' security concept has weakened and leakage of party and state secrets has become a serious problem, damaging the cause of our party, government and army and the four modernizations. It is necessary to resolutely stop this leakage. All commanders and fighters and government cadres must strictly observe the trial regulations on guarding party and state secrets promulgated in 1951. Observing the regulations is an obligation for all citizens.

However, placing himself above the law, someone in the central authorities has manipulated his power and prestige in unscrupulously trampling the party discipline and state law and even divulging important state economic and military secrets. As you know, Comrade Deng Xiaoping visited the United States on the eve of the Sino-Vietnamese war. In order to win the United States' political support, he confided the date and the purpose of our army's attack on Vietnam to President Carter and his assistant Brzezinski, thereby divulging important military secrets. Upon learning the secrets, the Vietnamese expeditiously stepped up their defenses and consequently inflicted heavy losses on our army.

Analyzing the setback of our army in the war with Vietnam at a meeting of the CCP Central Committee's Military Commission, some military leaders pointed out that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's leakage of the above-mentioned important military secrets was one reason for our army's setback. At the

meeting Vice Premier Deng was forced to admit his mistake. Nevertheless, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again leaked important military secrets recently. Based on the "six-point agreement" reached between Vice Premier Deng and U.S. Defense Secretary Brown, U.S. military experts drafted a report analyzing the present state of the Chinese army. On the orders of Chief of General Staff Deng, departments concerned of our army provided the Americans a host of information concerning the establishment, troop disposition, equipment, technology and products of military industry of our army and even a detailed list of weapons and military equipment urgently needed by our army. This information disclosed important national defense secrets.

There is a divergence of views within the central authorities on the "six-point agreement," which Vice Premier Deng has called a decisive step forward in Sino-U.S. cooperation. Some comrades have strong doubts over whether or not we can carry out the close and long-range cooperation prescribed in the "agreement." Other comrades believe that Vice Premier Deng is trying to bring a leap forward in Sino-U.S. military relations. But the result of such a move warrants careful consideration. In order to form a military alliance with the United States, can we subjugate our national interests to the U.S. imperialists' strategic interests? Obviously the "six-point agreement" reached between Vice Premier Deng and U.S. Defense Secretary Brown is actually aimed at tying our army to the U.S. war chariot.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

SHANGHAI PLA LEADERS CALL ON LOCAL LEGISLATIVE LEADERS

OW020637 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 1 Feb 80 OW

[Text] Leading comrades of the Shanghai Garrison District called on the Standing Committee of the Shanghai municipal people's congress on the morning of 1 February. At 1000, the building of the municipal people's congress standing committee, located in the center of People's Plaza, was filled with an atmosphere of armymen-people unity.

The leading comrades of the municipal people's congress standing committee and the leading comrades of the garrison district talked cordially and happily reviewed the friendship between the armymen and people. They included Yan Youmin, chairman of the municipal people's congress standing committee; Zhang Chengzong, Di Jingxiang, Su Buqing, Wang Tao, Liu Jingji, Wu Ruiyan, Zhou Gucheng and Li Peinan, vice chairmen of the standing committee; He Yixiang, commander of the Shanghai Garrison District; Li Baoqi, political commissar of the garrison district; Sun Linrui, deputy commander of the garrison district; Zhang Chen and (Weng Wei), deputy political commissars of the garrison district, and Hu Shoufu, chief of the advisory group of the garrison command.

The leading comrades of the garrison district briefed the Shanghai people's highest organ of political power on the progress of army modernization. They also thanked the Shanghai people for their loving care and support. On behalf of the Shanghai people, Chairman Yan Youmin praised the commanders and fighters of the Shanghai Garrison District for their contributions to the defense of the four modernizations and to the maintenance of Shanghai's social order.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

UNIT 57003 COMMENDED IN ARMY-SUPPORT MEETING

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Organizations Directly Under the State Council and Unit 57003 of the Beijing Garrison Command Hold Meeting on Supporting the Army and Cherishing the People"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 2 February, leading comrades and working personnel of organizations directly under the State Council and representatives of cadres and fighters of Unit 57003 of the Beijing Garrison Command held a meeting on supporting the army and cherishing the people. Wu Qingtong, deputy secretary general and director of the General Office of the State Council, presided over the get-together.

Zheng Siyuan, deputy secretary general of the State Council, and Qiu Weigao [6726 1550 7559], deputy commander of the Beijing Garrison Command, delivered speeches. In his speech, Zheng Siyuan warmly praised the Beijing Garrison Command guard unit for its great success and contributions in safeguarding the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and the capital, in upholding social order, education and training, war preparedness work and construction and in protecting the four modernizations. On behalf of the General Office of the State Council and the organizations directly under the State Council, he expressed thanks to the guard unit for the strong support and assistance it has given to their work. He said that the PLA is a people's army armed with Mao Zedong thought, a strong pillar of proletarian dictatorship and a great wall of iron and steel that safeguards the four modernizations. To effectively carry out the work to support the army and give preferential treatment to families of revolutionary armymen and martyrs and to support the army and cherish the people has special significance in developing a political situation of stability and unity in our country and in the building of four modernizations. We must treasure unity of the army and the government and of the army and the people like the way we treasure our own eyes, and carry forward the fine revolutionary traditions. He went on to say that all comrades of the organizations under the State Council must learn from the good ideology, workstyle and tradition of the PLA, show full trust and love for the people's own army and give positive support to the revolutionization and modernization of the units.

In his speech Qiu Weigao first recalled the course through which the guard unit was brought up under the tutelage of such elder revolutionaries as Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and Chairman Zhu. He said that our garrison guard unit has been directly under the care of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council for a long time. On New Year's day, Chairman Hua paid a visit to the unit and delivered an extremely important speech on strengthening the unity of the army and the government and of the army and the people. Many years of actual security work have made us deeply realize that a strong unity of the army and the government and of the army and the people is an important guarantee to win over all enemies and difficulties and to achieve success in security work. He further said that we must unceasingly carry out education of our army's glorious tradition and its purpose in army building, consolidate and strengthen the unity of the army and the government and of the army and the people and work together with the broad masses of people to effectively achieve success in security work.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ADVANCED ELEMENTS OF SHANGHAI AF UNITS STUDY DENG REPORT

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Concentrate Efforts To Speed Up the Modernization of the People's Air Force"]

[Text] From 7 to 9 February, a congress of representatives of advanced elements in learning from "Lei Feng, the Hard-bone 6th Company and the 1st Air Force Division" was solemnly convened by Air Force units stationed in Shanghai. At the opening of the congress, Jiang Yutian [1203 3768 3944], commander of the Air Force units, first related and explained Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report on the current situation and tasks, and Political Commissar Bi Hao [3968 4110] presented a report on the undertaking of intensive activities to learn from the three advanced models to speed up the progress of improving the combat capability of Air Force units in Shanghai. The entire meeting was a rally to pledge efforts to exchange advanced experiences as well as to study Comrade Deng Xiaoping's report and concentrate efforts to carry out the four modernizations. The representatives unanimously pledged that when they return to their units, they would definitely do a good job in disseminating what was learned from the report, take the lead in implementing its stipulations and treasure every minute and second in carrying out the four modernizations in order to speed up the modernization of the people's Air Force.

In the course of studying the report, the representatives unanimously endorsed Comrade Deng Xiaoping's penetrating analysis of the situation and pointed out that since the smashing of the "gang of four," and specially the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, our party has led the people throughout the country to embark on the road to achieve four modernizations step by step. And in a short period of three years, a large amount of work has been accomplished and throughout the country, a situation of stability and unity to work with one mind to achieve four modernizations has emerged. Today, the situation has never been as heartening, the position to march on towards the four modernizations as solid and the conditions favorable to realize the four modernizations as favorable. Most of the representatives recalled the work of Air Force units in Shanghai since the Third Plenum. Last year, education and training in all units achieved outstanding results.

Up and down every level there were liberation of thinking, stability and unity and marked improvement in combat capability. All its combat regiments of fighter aircraft units, attack aircraft units and reconnaissance airmen units are "first rate" and this is reflected in their strong combat capabilities. Its antiaircraft troops in various regiments scored excellent marks in live ammunition firing practice and the guided missile, radar and logistics troops also achieved outstanding results in their work. Over the past year, more than 720 advanced collectives and 6,100 individuals, rewarded for meritorious service, have emerged from units of the Air Force stationed in Shanghai. Everyone felt deep down in his heart that the party's political, ideological and organizational lines as well as the Third Plenum's series of policies were completely correct. And accordingly, they have gained greater confidence in believing that the four modernizations will be victorious.

The representatives, in discussing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech on the tasks ahead, unanimously held that the 1980's is a brilliant spring day for our country's four modernizations, and the pioneering spirit of arduous struggle and rushing against every minute and second to achieve four modernizations must be promoted. A large number of party member representatives said that we must establish the spirit of being the masters of four modernizations and change the attitudes of heaving a sigh when faced with difficulties and showing hesitancy in the face of problems. We must start from the present and from ourselves and be activists in promoting the work of liberating thinking, creating stability and unity and carrying out the building of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI RADIO' MARKS FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF PRC-SRV BORDER WAR

OW180950 Ba Yi Radio [clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 17 Feb 80 OW

[Text] Today marks the first anniversary of our army's incursion into Vietnam. A year ago our Guangzhou and Kunming PLA units were ordered to launch an all-out attack on the Vietnamese border guards. After a month-long bloody battle, our troops intruded into Vietnamese territory as far as some 40 kilometers and occupied about 20 cities in northern Vietnam. As Comrade Yang Dezhi pointed out at a conference by the CCP Central Committee's Military Commission, the war, which was waged as far as 40 kilometers into Vietnamese territory for 3 weeks and which killed tens of thousands of our troops--1,000 daily in the fighting in the vicinity of Lang Son alone--was an out-and-out war of attrition.

At a meeting of the party Central Committee on 3 March last year, Vice Premier Deng said: "We fought this war to bluff other people, not to test our strength. Therefore, it is not necessary to think about the results. We gave Vietnam a lesson, as well as tempering ourselves. Although we suffered casualties and losses, we won the war after all. What is more important is that the war has alarmed those comrades who were used to peaceful lives while engaging in internal strife in a stable environment and has eliminated (?the confusions in the country)."

Regardless of what Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, we lost more than we gained in the war. Speaking at a meeting of the party Central Committee after the war, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "No sooner had the self-defense war on Vietnam started than I told Comrade Xiaoping that we were going to be attacked or blamed, possibly both, during the war. Eight out of 10 troops were new soldiers who did not have good training, not to mention any combat experience. We should not exploit their morale but maintain a cool head with regard to the war with Vietnam. Our principle in carrying out a war has been that injuring all 10 of the enemy's fingers is less effective than chopping one off. We paid a high price to injure one finger and to help Vietnam in certain aspects. Some people say I, Chen Yun, do not know how to handle a bayonet or gun and know only how to use an abacus. I am a layman in military affairs. But does a war not also involve economic accounting? If it did not, why was the war not continued? In March Comrade Xiaoping insisted on withdrawing troops under the pretext of international pressure. In fact, economics was the reason. If we are not

familiar with economic affairs, we could ruin the party and country. If you do not trust me, do you know how much money would have been spent if the self-defensive counterattack had continued for another 6 months? Besides, what could we do even if we took Hanoi?"

The above remark by Comrade Chen Yun is undoubtedly an incisive summation of the February war, as well as a lesson which our party and our army should learn from the military venture. Since its founding in 1927, our army has fought only twice on foreign soil. The first was to help the Korean people rebut U.S. imperialist aggression and the second was to invade Vietnam to carry out a so-called punitive war. In the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, our army received support and assistance from all the socialist countries and the people of the whole country, while the "punitive war" was denounced everywhere. In the first war on foreign soil, the Chinese economy continued to grow and achieved good initial results in industrialization. In the second war, which lasted only a month, our country lost 3,446 million yuan, affecting the completion of the 1979-80 economic plan indefinitely.

In short, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the February war, we should learn from past experience so that we will never again make the same mistake.

CCO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

JIANGSU MEETING STRESSES PUBLIC ORDER, AGRICULTURE MODERNIZATION

OW041245 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 3 Feb 80 OW

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangsu Provincial People's Congress held its second session today. Present were Zhang Zhongliang, Xin Shaobo, Kuang Yaming, He Binghao, Xie Kedong, Chen Heqin, Ye Xuchao, Liu Shuxun and Liao Yunze, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress.

Chen Ketian and Hong Peiling, vice governors of the Jiangsu Provincial People's Government, attended the session as observers. Also attending as observers were Fang Zhen, president of the Jiangsu Provincial Higher People's Court and a responsible comrade of the provincial people's procuratorate. Vice Chairman Zhang Zhongliang presided over the session.

Two items on the agenda of the session were: 1. To hear and discuss a report by Vice Governor Hong Peilin on consolidating public order; and 2. To hear and discuss a report by Vice Governor Chen Ketian on commanding advanced agricultural units and model workers in the province.

All Standing Committee members attending the session unanimously approved the reports by vice governors Hong Peilin and Chen Ketian. They also put forward a number of positive suggestions on further consolidating public order and called for carrying on this work vigorously, steadily and firmly. They held that it is imperative to commend advanced agricultural units and model workers in the province.

In addition, they also made very good suggestions on family planning and control of population growth.

Vice Chairman Xin Shaobo, who addressed the session before its conclusion, pointed out: Consolidating public order is a major issue concerning whether or not our country can be run well and our people can enjoy peace and security. It is the urgent demand of the people to consolidate public order. Strengthening public order is an important measure to consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity and to insure the smooth development of the four modernizations. For this reason, this work must be done conscientiously and effectively.

He said: From among the public security and judicial cadres and people's police, a number of advanced persons have emerged who have enforced the law impartially, have been brave in struggle, have faced danger fearlessly and have bravely caught enemies with the vigorous support of the broad masses, thus consolidating public order in the province. In public security organizations, a number of good people and good deeds in waging a courageous struggle against criminals have also been reported. These people should be commended and rewarded for their work done well.

Comrade Xin Shaobo continued: The provincial people's government has decided to hold a provincial meeting to give prizes to advanced agricultural units and model workers. This meeting will commend advanced units and individuals, exchange experience and mobilize the people throughout the province to concentrate on reaping the first good harvest of the 1980's. This meeting will be of great importance. Our province has reaped all-round bumper harvests in the past 2 years. In the struggle for a steady increase in agricultural production, a large number of advanced agricultural units and model farm workers have come to the fore. It is imperative for the provincial people's government to commend them. The Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress earnestly hopes that the advanced agricultural units and model farm workers throughout the province will make persistent efforts, guard against arrogance and rashness, continue to distinguish themselves in the years of great achievements, work hard to fulfill or overfulfill this year's planned targets in agricultural production and make new contributions to speeding up modernization of agriculture.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITERS URGED TO LISTEN TO IDEAS, PROBLEMS OF PEOPLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Nov 79 p 3

[Article by Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159]: "Listen Attentively to the Voices of the People"]

[Text] Among the middle-aged writers who took part in the Fourth Literature Representative Conference, those who have been the most active and the most productive over the most recent two years have included several comrades who were falsely labeled as rightists and who had to undergo rectification. That they have once again been able to use their pens to serve the people is very fortunate. However, we cannot forget those many young people who twenty-two years ago whom we involved with and who became rightists, some of whom even today have not yet been rectified. These young people have lost over twenty years of valuable time and there is not too much left of their lives. At all costs we must not put off their problem any longer.

Looking back over these twenty odd years, I feel that there were losses but that there were also gains. Fate tied us firmly to the working people at the bottom level. Their joys and their worries were our joys and our worries and we cherished no hopes save their hopes. In this way, we saw, heard and experienced things that others have not seen, heard or experienced.

Of my own personal experience, that which was most unforgettable was that three year period of my life from 1958 to 1960 when I slept with the poor peasants on a brick bed or in a folded quilt. The conditions that I saw in the rural villages and the desires that were expressed to me by the peasants differed greatly from what was being carried out by the higher levels and what was being disseminated by the newspapers. Which did I think was better? At that time, I had resolved to be obedient to the Party and wanted to remould myself into a new person. However, objective, material things are, in the final analysis, more powerful than subjective, spiritual things. My resolve to remould myself grew greater but I could not withstand the incessant attacks of actual contradictions: The higher authorities said that we should build a zoo and a fountain in our impoverished

mountain valley. What would the peasants, who got very little meat to eat during a year, feed the lions and tigers in the zoo? There was little water supply and both people and domestic animals drank rain water. How could they make a fountain? A struggle went on deep within my mind: How can two completely opposed truths exist in this world? One of these was the interests and the desires of the peasants and the other was policies of the higher authorities and the propaganda in the newspapers. To which should one adhere? In 1960, when the Party Central Committee issued the 12-Point Rural Policy, I finally came to a conclusion: It was the interests and demands of the people that were correct, while anything that went against the wishes of the people would in the end not be able to stand.

This year we have seen the successive publication of the short story JIANJI CUOLE DE GUSHI [The Story Stemming from Erroneous Editing] by Comrade Ru Zhijuan [5423 1807 7710] and the short story HEIQI [The Black Flag] by Comrade Liu Zhen [0491 4176] which deal with the period of history that I have described above. Can we imagine what social effects these novels would have produced had their publication been allowed twenty-one years ago? This type of literature would have assisted the Party in an earlier realization and correction of its errors, would have raised the prestige of the Party even higher, would have made the socialist collective economy stronger and more prosperous and would have increased the enthusiasm of the peasants for production and would have increased political enthusiasm. The history of these years has once again confirmed for us the following: It is truly not this type of work that undermines the Party and the reputation of socialism. Rather, it is the harm caused by our errors and by the sabotage of the Party and socialism by their enemies. If an author could have stood up to protect the interests of the people, to reveal our errors and to expose the sabotage by our enemies, then, under those specific historical conditions, this would have been a good way of safeguarding the Party and socialism. However, there was no one writing works such as those of comrades Ru Zhijuan and Liu Zhen authentically reflecting life in rural villages in 1958. Nor was anyone able to write such works in 1962 when the Central Committee of the Party summarized this period of history for instructional purposes. It was not for more than twenty years, in the third year after the smashing of the "gang of four," that RENMIN WENXUE and SHANGHAI WENXUE finally published these two works and that literature gained some rights in authentically reflecting life.

We should summarize the lessons of experience. There are three point that I call to mind.

1. A writer should face life and listen attentively to the voices of the people. The policies of the Party should also be subjected to the test of experience and be corrected if they are in error. When the so-called "two truths" about which I spoke earlier appear in life, a writer should make a judgment in a serious rather than a hasty manner out of a high sense of responsibility to the people and through independent thought rather than in

a spirit of following the pack. Practice proves that many works describing life in the rural villages during those years no longer have life, whereas works like those of Ru Zhijuan and Liu Zhen have vitality.

2. In the minds of some comrades, the idea of literature "meddling in life" seems to mean describing the seamy side of life and to exclude descriptions of advanced figures and heroes. This appears to be a misunderstanding. In different eras and under different historical conditions, advanced figures must confront various different types of social contradictions. Only if we limit heroes to model workers and battle heroes, and, in fact, even if there are model workers and battle heroes, they cannot live apart from society and will always have an attitude toward major social contradictions.

3. Literature is a mirror. When the things that this mirror reflects are aspects of life that are not particularly fine and things that are not to people's liking, we should not blame the mirror. Rather, we should search out and eliminate those aspects of life that make people unhappy. A mirror assists people in seeing the true features of things. Literature propels society forward. If the mirror is broken, we cannot change ugly people into beautiful people and we cannot stop problems in society from reappearing. History proves that we should not cover this mirror of literature and that we should not smash it. It has been too long that our literature has been led from the path of realism to evil ways and has been drawn into a blind alley. Is this not enough to prove this truth! Prohibiting literature from meddling with life, depriving writers of the right to reflect the contradiction of life in an authentic manner and not allowing writers to be spokesmen of the people not only harms literature but also harms the people and harms the Party. This period in the history of literature has come to a close and a new chapter has begun. We hope that no one will pull literature backwards.

Differences in questions of literature can never be separated from differences in politics. Differences between them cannot be separated from how we understand our society and our reality.

For example, some of our comrades seem to feel that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" did not create any calamities and did not have an ultraleft line. Some believe that the pernicious influences of these calamities and of that evil line have been eliminated by the destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and that the only problem now is that of everyone working together in production.

My view is this: Some of the damage done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not yet been fully disclosed. Of what has been disclosed, there are still some matters that have not been fully understood by the people. We must not believe that their pernicious influences are dead and static things simply waiting for you to clear them away. Rather, we must view them as living social forces and as forces which still have their social basis.

However, even more worthy of our attention are the instances of invisible damage. The "gang of four" destroyed the body of our Party and destroyed our social relationships, causing a highly abnormal situation to develop in the relationship between our Party and the masses. What has been difficult to manage for many people has not been the evildoers. Although they have unintentionally or intentionally protected evildoers, superficially they are all members of the Communist Party of Party cadres. They are living and taking action. Every moment they are exerting the functions whereby they achieve their interests and which their ideology causes them to exert. These are as well the functions of these people that I described in REN YAO ZHI JIAN [Between Men and Demons]. If we do not take decisive measures and if we do not wage a resolute struggle, this situation will be very difficult to change.

Here I should like to point out to those comrades who hold that the principal mission of literature is to describe heroic figures that today there is the peculiar phenomenon that the circumstances of heroic figures are not very favorable. To do good deeds one most offend others and must take risks and may finally even be thrown into disrepute. When I was doing newspaper work in the nineteen-fifties, I felt very deeply that it was difficult to make criticisms at that time. By the end of the seventies, I suddenly discovered that it was also very difficult to praise someone. For example, Comrade Liu Jie 0491 0512, a policewoman in charge of household registration in the Daxingan mountain range region of Heilongjiang who upheld principles was praised by the newspaper and even received the support of the leaders of the Provincial CCP Committee. However, the praise of a Party newspaper brought calamity to her and not even the support of the Provincial CCP Committee could keep her from being attacked from all sides. She finally fell into danger and was murdered. I believe that if a true people's writer had interviewed an advanced figure of this kind he could not have kept himself from, first, standing with this young woman and fighting against these evil forces to secure better conditions of existence for her, and, after that, from taking up his pen to write about her. I firmly believe that only such a writer can accept the title of people's writer without shame.

To those other writer and critic comrades, those comrades who maintain that the mission of literature is to write about modernization and reconstruction, there is another circumstance that I would like to point out: The modernization of industrial and agricultural production cannot be resolved merely by relying on the addition of new equipment, and, of all of the productive forces, human beings are the most important. However, today, human initiative is being subjected to considerable inhibition. This is a problem worthy of note and of further research.

Backward modes of management of enterprises cannot maintain sustained increases in production. This is because they are incompatible with the essential nature of modern industry. In history, the birth and development of modern industry has occurred along with the liberation of the people.

This type of liberation has, of course, been limited, with people having been liberated from the feudal serf and personal dependence systems and having been given personal freedom, definite political rights and a position of equality under the law. So-called personality and individuality gradually came to be formed beginning in this period and assured that productive forces during the capitalist period would have a rate of development several times greater than that of feudal society. If socialism is to create an even higher labor productivity than capitalism, then it must and can provide better conditions for the development and improvement of the people. The management principles of the feudal patriarchal system was more regressive than those of capitalism. They constrained and suppressed people, impeding them from bringing the capacities and potential into play. This is, of course, not beneficial to socialist modernization.

The things that I have been discussing in the foregoing paragraphs appear to be matters within the sphere of economics. In actuality, this is not so. All of these matters are related to people, for which reason they are related to literature. In any event, the method of leadership of the feudal patriarchal type had to depend on two wings for its impetus and maintenance. One of these was coercive orders and the other was beatings and reprisals. These two phenomena became the most commonly seen means in the political life of the times whereby a small number of persons subdued the masses. This is something that we should take serious note of. "Power can corrupt people and absolute power is absolute corruption." If there is no supervision by the people, good people can become bad people and an honest and upright official can become a corrupt official.

We must respond to the problems of the people. In the court of history, we have no right to sit listening on the sidelines. The people are the judges and the plaintiffs and we must prepare the drafts of their speeches for them. In order to respond, we must understand. We should have a deeper knowledge of life than ordinary people.

What is serious is that we lack a precise knowledge of our own society. This process of knowledge has been interrupted for many years. During these years, we have had nothing that could be called scientific sociology, political science, law or logic. The investigation and research that Chairman Mao called for so often was also interrupted for many years. We have before us a vast, unknown world. For example, first, we all say that for many years class struggle has been expanding. In actuality, there has been a very long period during which its targets were wrong and its content and methods were also wrong. One characteristic of our history during these years has been the strength of repetitiveness of error. Now a new question has been raised: Does our nation still have classes? There are those who say it does not. There are also those who say, how can that be? If such is the case, how do you account for Wang Shouxin? That is to say, we have struggled for more than twenty years and we have still not found out who the target of struggle is. Second, although we have engaged in more than twenty years of socialist reconstruction, we still have not solved the problem of loss of

proportion. Moreover, the problem has grown in intensity. This, economists located the crux of the problem and raised the question of the objective of socialist production. In the end, is it steel for steel's sake or oil for oil's sake or is it to satisfying continually growing material and spiritual needs of the people? It appears that there are some people who do not agree that the objective of production is to satisfy to the greatest extent the ever increasing material and cultural needs of the society as a whole. Third, for many years we have attached the greatest importance to the human factor and have conducted an unending revolution in political ideology. However, although we have carried this on for many years, the enthusiasm of the people has not been raised. This is also a problem.

We are writing at the specific time and under the specific conditions of a China at the juncture between the seventies and the eighties. The demands of the age and the demands of the people are our orders. These are the demands of historical development and cannot be resisted. We have no right to evade complex social contradictions. We must assist our readers in coming to a more profound more accurate understanding of this society and we must rise to the struggle of completing our historical mission of bringing about the four modernizations.

10019
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LETTING POISONOUS WEEDS CONTEND WITH FRAGRANT FLOWERS URGED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jan 80 p 3

[Article by Sun Xupei [1327 2485 1014], post-graduate student of the Journalism Department of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: "The Realization of Contention Among Hundred Schools of Thought and the Development of Social Sciences"]

[Text] The realization of the Four Modernizations is a great cause which calls for a large-scale development of not only natural science but also social sciences as well. But the large-scale development of science (especially social sciences) depends on whether the party's policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" can be implemented and academic freedom can be realized. When Comrade Mao Zedong proposed a policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" in 1956, he emphasized that in pursuit of that policy, "questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in the artistic and scientific circles and through practical work; they should not be settled in a summary fashion." As soon as this policy was proclaimed, it received approval from the artistic and scientific circles and people throughout the country, thus creating a situation in which academic freedom prevailed and sciences flourished.

But in a country like ours with a long history of feudalism, the orthodox feudal ideological influence under which people had been taught to "respect only Confucianism and reject all other schools of thought" still cannot be easily eliminated. To some comrades who adhered to certain orthodox doctrines, the academic authority and universally accepted knowledge did not result from repeated practice, nor did they arise from constant contention among different schools of thought. Under the impact of the force of habit, they regarded the promotion of Confucianism and condemnation of all other schools of thought as something permanent, and the decision to "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" as a temporary tactical slogan. History tells us that it was this force of habit that had been used by those careerists and conspirators to usurp party and state power. For over a decade, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who masqueraded as ultra-leftists and often shouted revolutionary slogans had used the power

they usurped to prohibit people from bringing up certain topics in social sciences for free discussion and inquiry. In an attempt to control the people's thoughts and bring them into accord with their counterrevolutionary political line, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" condemned those who held views different from theirs, prevented them from freely airing their views in the quest for truth, left them no room in their controlled media for discussion, criticism and counter-criticism. Rather, they used such media as a base from which to mount attacks and counterattacks and to vilify and defame people. Consequently, the flowers in the socialist garden were withered and the voices of different schools of thought were silenced.

Now the people may feel nostalgic for the "double hundred" policy through a review of this painful historical lesson. But have the people completely dispelled their misgiving about the implementation of this policy under this new historical condition? This misgiving remains far from being removed from their minds. For example, some people had maintained that the consequence of contention in natural science is not serious but the consequence of contention in social sciences is dangerous. Others had held that the consequence of contention in history, archaeology and other social sciences not directly related to the practical struggle is not serious but the consequence of contention in political theory and economics is dangerous. In the final analysis, the adherents to the previously stated opinions remain far from ready to recognize the "double hundred" policy as a policy aimed at flourishing and developing the arts and science. We must clearly understand that letting a hundred schools of thought contend is an indispensable method for us to acquire accurate scientific knowledge. The Marxist theory of knowledge holds that the scope of practice is as unlimited as the scope of human knowledge; yet as far as certain individuals and generations are concerned, their ability to acquire knowledge is limited and restricted by historical conditions, expectancy of their lives, their class status, their experiences, their levels of knowledge, and their ways of thinking. For this reason, the knowledge acquired by humans can be categorized into accurate and inaccurate knowledge. At the same time, as far as the people can understand, there are also absolute and relative truths in the world. One may claim that he has acquired accurate knowledge. But this does not mean that his knowledge is not subject to changes or his knowledge is a final and ultimate truth. It can only be said that his knowledge had come nearest to the true picture of what was really going on in the world in a given period of history. No one is supposed to know everything in the objective world. This doctrine of relativity in knowledge is significant in that it can stimulate contention among the scholars of different persuasions, and can inspire them to correct mistakes, to enrich, replenish and improve accurate knowledge through free discussion. Contention in this way is vital to the development of social sciences. In his work entitled "Anti-Duehring," and his criticism of "eternal truth," Engels stated: "Our science in the field of humanity falls far behind our science in the biological field. The advocacy of eternal truth is ridiculous." The "science in humanity" enumerated by Engels refers to what we call social sciences today. On the road to understand the truth, social scientists should make greater efforts than natural scientists to eliminate the nonsense of

eternal truth. History has advised us what to choose between the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend and that of suppressing them all. During the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States Period, culture in pre-Qin Dynasty days boomed and flourished as a result of contention among a hundred schools of thought and thinkers of different persuasions. During the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, Confucianism emerged as the dominant school of thought and all other schools of thought were banned and prohibited from contending with each other. From then on, Confucianism was transformed by succeeding ruling classes in Chinese history as mental shackles which had a binding effect on the Chinese people for many generations. The prevalence of Confucianism over our society had prevented the development of culture and science in our country. It was also a major factor that prolonged the life of feudalism in Chinese history.

The development and growth of Marxism was a process which could also teach us a lesson. We must understand that Marxism was not born and developed in a peaceful environment devoid of competition with other schools of thought. It grew in an environment full of contradictions and struggles and gained strength by absorbing and criticizing other schools of thought. For example, the "Das Kapital" contains many quotations from works by other thinkers. This means that Marx absorbed into his work numerous fruits of mental labor performed by social scientists in political economy. Although these works on political economy were largely unscientific trash, Marx absorbed only those scientific and logical essentials and developed them in a creative way. Following its emergence, Marxism could not possibly have enriched itself and developed and would become stagnated and petrified and would have disqualified itself as our guiding principle, had it been kept out of contact and competition with other schools of thought. Now let me ask: if Eugen Duehring had not systematically made known his non-Marxist viewpoints through the publication of his work "Scientific Transformation," how could that comprehensive Marxist work "Anti-Duehring" be conceived, evolved and published? In other words, Marxism, a scientific, revolutionary ideological system, would not have developed and would have been stifled had it been enshrined in an ivory tower and kept out of competition with other schools of thought, and out of contact with reality.

Analogically, we have compared a correct and revolutionary mental production to a fragrant flower and an incorrect and reactionary one to a poisonous weed. But we are warned against labeling all mental productions in the world under just these two categories as soon as they are born. Actually, in the environment of nature, real fragrant flowers and real poisonous weeds are rare. Of course, we welcome fragrant flowers. But we cannot reject plain flowers and non-poisonous weeds and the entire green world. It is unrealistic to expect a world dominated by fragrant flowers alone. In the sphere of social sciences, there might be some imperfections in a generally correct mental production; there is still something useful and acceptable to us even in a publicly declared bad mental production. For this reason, any extreme attitude regarding fragrant flowers as totally irrefutable and poisonous weeds as totally unacceptable trash is extremely harmful. We must learn to

analyze everything in concrete terms and convince people with reasoning and persuasion. Some comrades had worried that letting a hundred schools of thought contend and academic freedom return to the campus may encourage people to disregard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a guiding principle over the political life of our country. They had also worried that the implementation of the party's line and policies would be hampered by contention over such things of direct concern to the nation as political theory and economics. These worries are neither justified nor based on facts. Marxism is a truth that cannot be defeated. Was it true that Marxism emerged and developed through competition with many other forms of socialism during Marx's era? In his time, only scientific truth could win the masses over to its side. As soon as Marx and Engels made known their scientific socialism, it immediately made other forms of socialism pale into insignificance and defeated them. No one would believe that Marxism which was invincible in the time of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie would end up by losing its position as a guiding principle in the socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If things like this do occur, it would certainly be sham Marxism that has been defeated. Could anyone give any other explanation on this matter? How could we guarantee to let a hundred schools of thought contend and preserve academic freedom? To this end, we must carry out the following two tasks.

1. We must firmly implement the "principle of three don'ts," notably, don't pick on people, don't put political labels on people, and don't wield big sticks. We must allow all academic views based on facts and reason to exist, contend and consult with each other so that correct opinions would develop and prevail and mistakes would be corrected. I personally endorse the following viewpoint suggested by comrades attending the 11 September 1979 GUANGMING RIBAO-sponsored forum on letting a hundred schools of thought contend: "We must firmly declare our intention to pursue neither the political movement nor the academic criticism movement in the future." Practical experiences showed that some serious irrevocable consequences had resulted from the so-called Marxist academic criticism movement which eventually made Marxism instead of revisionism a target of criticism; a few individuals arrogantly imposed their subjective will on others in the course of criticizing the "new theory of population" and "theory of combining two into one," thus violating the objective laws governing the development of academic research. By bringing up this point, I did not mean that the application of Marxism in criticism is no longer important. By emphasizing that all schools of thought should neither be suppressed nor banned, I did not mean that they cannot be criticized. I also want to make clear that Marxists are always in a position to criticize non-Marxists; all forms of criticism should be based on scientific analysis and should not be used by anyone as an occasion to push other people around and to suppress their opinions. The socialist system provides us with an opportunity to seek truth from facts on an equal footing. In the struggle for truth, "everyone should not hesitate to defend his existence. Otherwise, he would have to give up his right to defend his existence."

2. It is wrong not to publish and discuss those academic views that are inconsistent with the current policies. Although the current policies may be touched upon in academic discussion, we should neither confuse academic views with the current policies nor regard our personal views as the "spirit of the superior" or the "official attitude." Only thus can we prevent contention and academic discussion among all schools of thought from interfering with the implementation of practical work and preserve academic freedom. We must criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for pushing an ultra-left line, for suppressing academic discussion, and for destroying culture. We must also make efforts to create a normal atmosphere for academic research and to bring about an excellent situation in which a hundred schools of thought can enthusiastically contend with each other. Only thus can we encourage more people to dispel their misgiving about the implementation of the double hundred policy, emancipate their minds, carry on their academic research in a creative way, implement and turn the double hundred policy into an effective weapon to accelerate the development of science, especially social sciences.

9574

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NANFANG RIBAO' DETAILS GUANGDONG PLANNED PARENTHOOD RULES

HK220357 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Feb 80 p 1 HK

[Text of Guangdong Province planned parenthood regulations, issued by the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress on 2 February 1980]

[Text] Chapter I. Preamble

Article 1. Planned parenthood is a major strategic task of the socialist cause. It is directly related to the development of the national economy, and is related to the progress of speeding up the four modernizations and to the health and prosperity of the entire nation. The "Guangdong Provincial Planned Parenthood Regulations" are laid down to rapidly control the province's population growth, in accordance with the stipulation of Article 53 of the PRC Constitution that "the state advocates and promotes planned parenthood," and in connection with the actual situation in Guangdong.

Article 2. Ideological education is the main measure for promoting planned parenthood. The necessary economic and administrative measures are secondary.

Chapter II. Marriage and Parenthood

Article 3. The demand in practicing planned parenthood is: "late marriage and later and fewer births," with the emphasis on fewer births. The ages for late marriages should be: over 23 for females; over 25 for males in the rural areas and over 26 in the urban areas. For a woman to bear a child over the age of 25 is reckoned a late birth. Fewer births means that each couple should have only one child. The birth of a second child which conforms to the arrangements of the population plan should come at least 4 years after the birth of the first. Couples who marry for a second time may not have any more children if both husband and wife already have children or if one of them already has two. Persons with hereditary diseases which would seriously affect the physical or mental health of their posterity may not have children.

Article 4. Young couples must study these "regulations" before marriage, undergo education in birth control knowledge in their units, and produce a certificate to this effect when carrying out the registration procedures at the marriage registry organs. Persons registering for marriage who do not meet the demands of the regulation on the age for late marriage must be educated and dissuaded, to enable them to spontaneously practice late marriage.

Universities and colleges, and secondary vocational and technical schools will only enroll unmarried young people. Students may not marry or give birth while at school; if they do, they will be expelled, whether male or female.

Only unmarried apprentices and trainees will be enrolled. Those who marry at school without meeting the marriage age requirements will be expelled.

Article 5. The prefectures (and the autonomous prefecture), municipalities and counties must all formulate population plans in accordance with population targets handed down from the upper levels. Urban districts and rural communes must examine and approve the lists of names applying to produce children in accordance with the population plans handed down by the upper levels and the demand of late marriage and later and fewer births. Priority in approval must be given to females who have married particularly late and wish to have a first child. The plans will be formulated for each person by their units. Those who have no approved birth quota should undergo birth control measures under government guidance according to the individual case. No person is allowed to interfere in this or to maltreat others.

Article 6. Hans in the autonomous prefecture (and the counties) must observe these regulations. Minority nationalities should be encouraged to practice planned parenthood, but no birth control targets will be imposed on them. It is necessary to do a good job of maternal and infant welfare and to publicize knowledge about birth control. Guidance and help must be provided for those who face a demand to practice birth control.

Chapter III. Commendation and Reward

Article 7. Those who have only one child and have taken effective steps to insure that they will not have another will be commended and rewarded:

A. Couples of child-bearing age who apply for it will be issued with an "only child preferential treatment certificate" after verification by their work unit. These certificates will be issued by organs at and above commune, district and county level and by enterprises, after examination and approval. There are two kinds of preferential treatment, for which there is freedom of choice; however it is not permitted

to change from one method to another halfway through. The first kind consists of free kindergarten up to the age of 7, free schooling from primary to senior middle levels, and medical treatment at public expense up to the age of 14. The second kind consists of a payment of 5 yuan per month for the children of cadres, workers, and urban unemployed persons, up to the age of 14. In the rural areas the production team will pay the peasant the workpoints for 4 to 6 labor days until the child is 14. Units can also issue a suitable one-time bonus, according to their economic conditions.

[HK220404] The expenses for the above measures will be listed as "other supplementary welfare expenses" in the "workers' welfare funds" of state organs, undertakings and units; enterprises will pay them out of their enterprise funds; collective enterprises will pay them out of public welfare funds; in general the expenses will be paid by the husband's work unit; they will be paid by the wife's work unit if requested. The medical expenses and the 5 yuan monthly payment for only children of urban unemployed, and the medical expenses for only children of peasants, will be paid out of the planned parenthood funds.

B. In the rural areas, grain rations for an only child will be issued at the average level of the accounting unit, and he will be allocated a two-person portion of private plot. In the urban areas, all things being equal, housing allocation priority will be given to a one-child family, who will also enjoy the housing space, fuel and nonstaple foodstuff supplies of a two-child family.

C. The mother will be allowed 3 months' postnatal leave.

D. In the rural areas the parents of only children will receive priority when peasants are selected for work in industry and sideline occupations. When building houses, the production teams will give priority to such parents in solving the problem of housing site and in assigning building materials and labor force. All things being equal, only children should enjoy priority in the recruitment of industrial workers and soldiers.

When couples enjoying the above-mentioned treatment have a second child, their work unit is to recover all the expenses involved by docking their wages.

Article 8. When couples with only one child grow old and retire, those of them who are cadres or workers will receive an additional 5 percent on top of the pension being paid them in accordance with retirement regulations. No extra will be paid to those who receive 100 percent pensions. When rural peasants grow old and lose their work strength, the production teams should pay them a subsidy amounting to workpoints for 5 labor days.

Article 9. Childless cadres and workers will receive a 100 percent pension on retirement. When childless rural peasants lose their work strength, they will be cared for as "households enjoying the five guarantees." Collective ownership units should if possible institute a pension or supply scheme, and also do well in running homes of respect for the aged. The government and the collectives must insure that the living standards of childless couples are slightly higher than those of the local peasants.

Article 10. Those who spontaneously practice late marriage should be commended. Those who spontaneously practice late parenthood after late marriage should receive a bonus for each year they delay parenthood; expenses involved in such payment should be dealt with as in Article 7 (A) above.

Article 11. The children of urban residents, cadres and workers who have only had two children before the promulgation of this notice need not be sent down to settle in the rural areas. Those who have already been sent there can be given priority in the recruitment of industrial workers.

Article 12. Units which have scored notable achievements in planned parenthood will be awarded the glorious title of "progressive collective" and will also receive a suitable material reward. Such enterprises can increase by 0.2 percent the amount of profit which can be used for bonuses.

Cadres, scientists, technicians, medical personnel and barefoot doctors engaged in planned parenthood work who have scored notable success in their work should be commended and awarded suitable bonuses.

Rural planned parenthood activists who have lost working time due to carrying out planned parenthood work should receive appropriate subsidies from their brigade or production team. Those who have scored notable successes should be commended and awarded suitable bonuses.

Article 13. It is necessary to change the old convention of regarding men as superior to women, institute new marriage customs, and actively encourage a peasant to marry and settle down in the production team where his wife lives, if her parents have no male issue. Old people with no male issue can also move and go to live in the production team where their daughter settles after her marriage. Those who move in this way must enjoy political rights and duties equal to the peasants of the production team where they settle down, and nobody is allowed to hinder them, make things difficult for them or ostracize them. A son-in-law responsible for caring for his father and mother-in-law will be regarded as being a direct relative of them. When a daughter of a rural household without male issue marries an urban cadre or worker, she and her children are permitted to maintain their domicile in their production team, and to enjoy the above-mentioned treatment.

When a worker retires, his daughter and son-in-law have the right to take over his job from him. Parents without male issue can enjoy labor insurance and medical treatment as direct relatives of their daughter or son-in-law.

Chapter IV. Restrictions and Penalties

Article 14. Couples of child-bearing age who do not practice planned parenthood will have to pay charges for births which exceed the plan:

A. Such charges will be levied on all who produce a third or additional child (the number of children includes foster and adopted children), from the fourth month of pregnancy until the child is 14.

B. Such charges will be levied on couples whose second child is born less than 4 years after the first, from the fourth month of the second pregnancy until the first child is 4 years old.

C. Births out of wedlock are illegal. Charges for births which exceed the plan will be levied in such cases, from the fourth month of pregnancy until 9 months after a marriage certificate is obtained.

[HK220411] The methods of levying these charges are as follows: Both husband and wife of a cadre's or worker's family will have their monthly wages docked by 10 percent by their work units; rural peasant couples will have their monthly workpoints (computed according to the annual average workpoints in the accounting unit concerned) docked by 10 percent from the workpoint distribution; the levies on urban and rural individual small traders and hawkers, handicrafts workers, and unemployed persons (including Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and dependents of Overseas Chinese) will be handled by the residents' committees or production teams in accordance with the above-mentioned principles. All wages and workpoints levied in this way will be returned to the work units concerned for use as welfare and public welfare funds.

An extra levy of 5 percent per extra child will be imposed on those who produce more than three children, starting with the fourth child.

Article 15. The price of grain rations for children born in excess of the plan will be computed at the excess grain purchase rate for those who come under the production teams' grain ration distribution, until the age of 14. Grain will be supplied at negotiated price rates for such children in the nonagricultural urban population, and in agricultural, forestry, animal and fish farms, industrial crop zones and grain-deficient production teams, where grain is supplied by the state under unified and fixed sales.

Article 16. Husbands and wives of cadre and worker families who have a third or additional child and those whose children are born out of

wedlock may not be promoted or assessed for bonus for 3 years. No subsidies will be provided for those who encounter difficulties in livelihood as a result of having an excessive number of children. Peasants in this category will not be considered for employment in industry and sideline occupations.

Article 17. Except for cloth coupons, there will be no issue of planned supply coupons for commodities and nonstaple foodstuffs for children born in excess of the plan until the age of 14. Such children in rural areas will not be eligible for distribution of agricultural and sideline products in kind.

Article 18. Women whose pregnancy exceeds the plan will be themselves responsible for all examination, midwife and hospital expenses for their pregnancy and delivery. They will not be paid maternity leave wages or workpoints. A third or additional child will not be eligible for medical schemes benefiting dependents, the cooperative medical service or the direct relative labor insurance and medical schemes.

Article 19. Units such as commune and brigade factories and farms, which consume grain supplied by the state, will have a fixed grain supply quota set in accordance with the population growth target handed down by the state. There will be no additions for excess births and no reductions for fewer births.

Article 20. The standard of urban housing allocation will be limited to the level of a couple and two children. Allocation of rural housing sites will also be restricted to this level. There will be no increase in allocation for those who have excessive children.

Article 21. When assessing progressive collectives, departments (units) must regard planned parenthood work as one of the major criteria for assessing progressive collectives. Enterprises and units which exceed the population growth target handed down by the upper levels should have their fund accumulation taken out of profits reduced by 0.2 percent.

Article 22. It is necessary to criticize and educate those who do not practice planned parenthood or illegally extract the ring. Those who refuse to mend their ways despite education and whose influence is very bad must be subject to disciplinary action.

It is necessary to deal severely with those who make use of their powers to practice favoritism, or who spread rumors, deal blows at and frame planned parenthood work personnel and activists in order to sabotage planned parenthood. Those whose actions cause serious consequences must be punished by law.

Chapter V. Surgical Leave and Welfare

Article 23. Leave will be granted as follows to those who undergo contraception operations, on producing a medical certificate:

- A. Three days' rest from the date of operation for the insertion of an intrauterine device. Heavy workers should not do heavy work for 1 week after the operation.
- B. One day's rest on the day of the operation for the removal of such a device.
- C. Seven days' rest for vasoligation.
- D. A rest of 21 days for simple tubal ligation.
- E. A rest of 14 days for artificial abortion. A 17 days' rest period for simultaneous insertion of an intrauterine device. A rest of 35 days for simultaneous tubal ligation.
- F. A rest of 30 days for midpregnancy termination of conception. A rest of 51 days for simultaneous tubal ligation.

After a woman has given birth she will be given an extra 21 days maternity leave if she also has a tubal ligation.

If special circumstances require that extra rest periods are needed in addition to the above, the decision will be made by the doctor.

Article 24. Cadres and workers of state and collective ownership enterprises who undergo contraception operations will be paid normal wages by their units during the stipulated rest periods. Workpoints of rural peasants will also be recorded as usual by their production teams. Wages of temporary and contract workers will be paid by the units which hire them. There will be no effect on assessment for bonuses for full work attendance. The costs of the operations will be paid out of public medical funds for those who enjoy medical treatment from public funds, from labor insurance medical funds for those who enjoy labor insurance medical care, from local medical funds in collective ownership units, by the hiring units in the case of temporary and contract workers, and from the planned parenthood funds in the rural areas and for unemployed urban residents.

[HK220414] Suitable recuperation subsidies will be paid by their work units to those who undergo ligation or artificial abortion. Such subsidies will be paid from relief funds by the civil affairs departments in the case of unemployed urban residents.

If a doctor says that a husband or wife must stop working to nurse the spouse after a ligation operation, wages and workpoints will be paid and recorded as usual during the period of nursing, with the approval of the leadership of the work unit concerned, and there will be no effect on assessment for bonus for full work attendance.

Article 25. If the child of a one-child couple dies or is seriously crippled after the couple have undergone contraceptive surgery, and the couple demand to have another child, free anastomosis may be performed after the work units have verified the facts, and the special treatment they enjoyed as parents of only one child will not be deducted from their wages. Couples in this category who do not have another child can enjoy the benefits listed in Article 9.

Article 26. Public health administrative departments at all levels must undertake technical guidance work for planned parenthood, conduct periodic training and examination of contraceptive technicians, organize exchange of experiences, and constantly improve the quality of surgery. The hospitals and maternal and infant welfare clinics at all levels must establish planned parenthood technical guidance units and beds and do well in providing technical guidance for planned parenthood. They must also do a good job of maternal and infant welfare work.

Each brigade should have a female barefoot doctor to provide technical guidance for planned parenthood work and to carry out public health work for mothers and infants.

Illness caused as a result of planned parenthood accidents, which has been verified as such by technical groups at and above county-level and the planned parenthood offices, must be treated by the public health departments. Wages and workpoints must be issued and recorded as usual during the necessary rest periods. The expenses will be paid in the same way as for contraceptive surgery. Rural peasants and urban residents who lose their labor ability, leading to difficulties in family livelihood, as a result of contraceptive surgery accidents should have their problems solved by collective assistance and appropriate relief provided by the civil affairs departments. State cadres and workers in this category can be dealt with in accordance with the stipulations provided for injuries caused by accidents at work.

Chapter VI. Additions

Article 27. It is every citizen's duty to practice planned parenthood. Government at all levels, mass organizations, the PLA, the people's communes, and the enterprises and undertakings are all responsible for conducting publicity in and promoting planned parenthood work. They must step up inspection and supervision and seriously implement these regulations. If these regulations are not implemented, producing a serious adverse effect on the control of population growth, and there

is no improvement despite help and education provided by higher authority, the leaders and personnel concerned of the units involved must be criticized and punished according to the gravity of the case. The planned parenthood work departments at all levels must supervise the implementation of these regulations.

Article 28. From now on these regulations will be the criterion for fixing planned parenthood rewards and punishments. The various units can follow the stipulations of these regulations and decide on measures and pacts to be observed by all, in connection with the actual situation in the units and after mass discussions. Measures and pacts on planned parenthood laid down in the past may continue in force, so long as they do not conflict with these regulations.

Article 29. These regulations come into force on the date of promulgation.

These regulations are also applicable to PLA units stationed in Guangdong, and units located in Guangdong which are subordinate to the central authorities.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BEIJING DISCUSSES REHABILITATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

OW251402 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 0900 GMT 25 Feb 80 OW

[Summary] Let us review how China deals with its juvenile delinquency problem. "In China, juvenile delinquency primarily takes the form of group fighting and robbery. Homicide and rape are very rare, and there is no drug problem. Generally speaking, very few crimes are committed as a result of excessive drinking.

"During the Great Cultural Revolution today's teenagers were only children or infants who knew nothing about law. They grew up in an unruly, troubled environment. They had no sense of right and wrong, which at the time were turned upside down. This is the main reason for today's juvenile delinquency problem.

"Another factor contributing to juvenile delinquency is the lack of rewarding spare-time activities. Some people have created trouble and become criminals simply because they had nothing better to do.

"Since the smashing of the 'gang of four' in 1976, the party and government have taken effective measures to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents. The basic goal of this work is to rehabilitate them by restoring their self-respect and by showing concern for them and giving them love."

The work is done in the following three stages:

1. Whenever a student displays delinquent tendencies, the neighborhood committee, teachers and parents coordinate with each other in giving help. If the juvenile is a worker, he is transferred to an advanced work team or group to change himself in a healthy environment.
2. More serious juvenile delinquents are sent to a work and study rehabilitation school. There are several of these schools in each of China's major cities. They are under the supervision of education departments, which assign experienced teachers to help the students.
3. With the exception of homicide, juveniles who commit crimes are not given criminal penalties but are sent to juvenile delinquent reform centers. There is one such center in almost every Chinese province.

Some 1,200 juvenile delinquents are undergoing reform in the Beijing municipal juvenile delinquent reform center, with the time spent there ranging from 1 to 3 years. Their ages range from 14 to 16 when they first enter the center, where they live a very rigorous collective life. They generally spend half of the day in physical labor, managing crops or breeding fish. A few work at the center's electromechanical manufacturing and repair shop. They spend the other half of their work day attending cultural courses. The center offers colorful spare-time activities. The juveniles can watch movies and TV programs or play ball games. According to the center's deputy director, many of the juveniles have really changed themselves and left the center new persons.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XIZANG INTELLECTUALS WORK FOR MODERNIZATION

OW260806 Beijing XINHUA in English 0745 GMT 26 Feb 80 OW

[Text] Lhasa, February 26 (XINHUA)--Tibetan researchers working in the archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region have collected more than 400 first-hand records about earthquakes that occurred in the region over the past 700 years.

This provides an important basis for studying the movement of the earth's crust and for planning the layout of industrial enterprises in the region.

Researchers there have also compiled historical data about mining and woolen textiles and meteorological records on windstorms, frosts, hailstorms and snowstorms which are relevant to the development of industry, agriculture and livestock breeding here.

In recent years, a growing number of Tibetan intellectuals, many of whom belonged to the upper strata in the old days, have been drawn into China's modernization drive.

These people include ecclesiastical officials of the former local government, other religious people, former manorial lords and chieftains of the former Tibetan army who are willing to work for socialism.

Many are working in local organizations of the Chinese people's political consultative conference, local administrative organs, or hospitals, schools, banks, museums and archives, using their knowledge or skills to serve the cultural and economic development in the region.

Of the more than 550 people from the former upper strata in Tibet, 258 are now members of the national or regional people's congresses or the national or regional committees of the C.P.P.C.C.

Tubdan Cering, a traditional Tibetan doctor with 50 years of experience and a medical officer of the former local government, now works in the Lhasa Institute of Research in Tibetan medicine. With the help of other research workers, he has spent several years in sorting out and re-editing an ancient work on Tibetan medicine called "The Four-part Compendium of Medicine." He has also written books on the latest successes in combining Tibetan and Western medicines and on his own clinical experience.

Many Tibetan men of letters have worked on art, literature, history and other subjects. One of these is 72-year-old Tubdan Dantar, who worked for a long time for the 13th and 14th Dalai Lamas. Using his own personal records and the former local government's archives, he has written articles to prove that Tibet has been part of Chinese territory from time immemorial.

The people's government is helping former upper class Tibetans who are elderly or disabled to record their professional and historical knowledge. Even those who took part in the armed rebellion of 1959 and who have reformed through re-education are now trusted by the government and the people.

Lhalu Cewang Doje, former commander of the rebel forces, is editing materials about recent Tibetan history. Xiazha Gadain Baijor, a grain administrator for the former local government, and Jangra Ngawang Cebai, also an official of the former local government, were assigned to work in the archives of the Tibet Autonomous Region and the Tibetan Institute for Nationalities after being released from prison over a year ago.

The local communist party and government organs often canvass Tibetan intellectuals and people of the former upper strata for ideas about the modernization of the region and invite them to discuss government policies.

CSO: 4020

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

FUJIAN YOUTH EDUCATION MEETING--A Fujian experience exchange meeting on youth education work was held in Fuzhou from 1 to 5 February. Responsible comrades from departments concerned attended the meeting. They seriously studied and discussed the central authorities' relevant documents and further understood the important significance of promoting youth work. They held: It is necessary to cultivate new capable persons to safeguard the smooth progress of the four modernizations. Director of the provincial CCP committee propaganda department Zhang Gexin spoke, and deputy director of the provincial CCP committee propaganda department (Huang Ming) made a summation speech. [HK260611 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1035 GMT 8 Feb 80 HK]

GUANGXI CYL MEETING--The second plenum of the Sixth Guangxi CYL Committee was recently held in Nanning. Zhao Maoxun, secretary of the Guangxi Regional CCP Committee, attended the plenum and spoke. He reaffirmed the achievement of the CYL committee in 1979 and demanded that the CYL organizations at all levels seriously sum up experiences, enliven the work of the CYL and educate the young people to give play to their role as the shock force. The participants listened to the conveyance of the spirit of the second plenum of the 10th Central CYL Committee by (Liang Junjie), secretary of the Guangxi CYL Committee. (Liang Junjie) has also put forward the tasks of the CYL organizations throughout the region in 1980, urging the young people to arduously struggle for fulfilling and overfulfilling this year's national economy. The participants also studied the work of the region's young pioneers. [Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Feb 80 HK]

GUANGZHOU DISTRICT CCP COMMITTEE--The First CCP Congress of Huangpu District in Guangzhou concluded at the end of 1979. The congress officially established the Huangpu District CCP Committee. Attending the inauguration ceremony of the district CCP committee were Xue Yan, Wu Nanqing and (Li Zhenxing), responsible comrades of the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee. They also gave speeches. The ceremony elected 21 members of the district CCP committee. (Ma Xiong) was elected secretary of the district CCP committee. [HK221148 Guangzhou City Service in Cantonese 0430 GMT 5 Feb 80 HK]

HUNAN NATIONALITIES POLICY DOCUMENT--The Hunan Provincial CCP Committee recently issued a document demanding that all places conduct a publicity and education campaign about the nationalities policy during the Spring Festival. The document urged the full implementation of the party's nationalities policy, strengthening unity among different nationalities, bringing into full play the enthusiasm of minority nationality cadres and masses and speeding up the pace of economic and cultural construction in minority nationality areas. The document particularly stressed overcoming the feeling of Han-chauvinism. [HK260220 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 14 Feb 80 HK]

HUNAN PLANNED PARENTHOOD CIRCULAR--To insure that the population's natural growth rate in Hunan Province in 1980 is below 8 per 1,000, six units including the provincial planned parenthood leadership group and the propaganda department of the provincial CCP committee recently issued a joint circular on carrying out planned parenthood propaganda work. The circular pointed out that the emphasis in planned parenthood work must be placed on the notion that a couple had best have only one child. This is a strategic task for solving the population problem in our country. All units must extensively publicize planned parenthood around the Spring Festival. It is also necessary to commend good people and fine deeds in planned parenthood. The province must actively run child-care organizations well, do maternity and infant welfare work well and take care of widowers, widows and old people. [HK240606 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 9 Feb 80 HK]

JIANGXI CULTURE WORK FORUM--To welcome the victorious convocation of the Fourth Jiangxi Congress of the Literature and Art Workers and make preparations for the holding of this congress, the Jiangxi Federation of Culture recently held a forum in Nanchang on the work of the federations of culture throughout the province. Present at the forum were responsible comrades from the Jiangxi Culture Bureau and the Jiangxi Publication Bureau. Giving speeches at the forum were Ma Jikong, secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee; (Kou Yubin), director of the propaganda department of the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee; and (Yu Lin), deputy director. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Feb 80 HK]

JIANGXI PLANNED PARENTHOOD CONFERENCE--The Jiangxi People's Government recently held a conference in Nanchang on planned parenthood work. The participants were urged to reduce the natural population growth rate to 0.010 this year. A total of 60 planned parenthood work personnel took part in the conference. They have also studied Vice Premier Chen Muhua's speeches, summed up the planned parenthood work in 1979 and discussed and studied this year's tasks. Xu Qin, Standing Committee member of the Jiangxi Provincial CCP Committee and vice provincial governor, presided over the conference and made a summation. Ma Jikong, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, attended the conference and spoke. It was revealed at the conference that the people in Jiangxi had scored

encouraging achievement in planned parenthood work in 1979. The natural population growth rate throughout Jiangxi is expected to decline to 0.0138, a reduction of 5.82 over 1978. The natural population growth rate in 13 counties and municipalities in Jiangxi has been reduced to 0.010, while that in another 20 counties has been reduced to 0.012. Compared with 1978, the population in Jiangxi in 1979 was 100,000 fewer persons. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Feb 80 HK]

SHANGHAI MINORITY PEOPLE--Shanghai, 24 Feb--Shanghai Municipality has further implemented the party and state policy on minority people, thus strengthening the unity among the people of various nationalities and whipping up minority people's enthusiasm in building the four modernizations. There are over 37,000 minority residents in the city, including 17 deputies to the municipal people's congress and 13 members of the municipal CPPCC committee. Those minority people who were persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been exonerated. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0321 GMT 24 Feb 80 OW]

SHANGHAI PROMOTES PLANNED PARENTHOOD--The preparatory committee for establishing the Shanghai Municipal Planned Parenthood Scientific Research Association was inaugurated at a ceremony in Shanghai on the afternoon of 25 February. (Gao Yizhen), director of the Medicine Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and head of the Shanghai Municipal Planned Parenthood Research Institute, was made chairman of the preparatory committee. [OW261008 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 25 Feb 80 OW]

ZHEJIANG FAMILY PLANNING--Hangzhou, 31 Jan--The Zhejiang provincial family planning leading group called on various localities to vigorously promote propaganda and education in planned parenthood work during the spring festival period. Compared with 1978, Zhejiang's natural population growth rate dropped 0.1 percent in 1979. Leading comrades of Zhejiang Province lay great emphasis on planned parenthood work. At the 31 January work conference of the provincial party committee, Chen Zuolin, leader of the provincial family planning group, proposed that the province's natural population growth rate should drop to below 9 per 1,000 in 1980, below 8 per 1,000 in 1981 and below 5 per 1,000 by 1985. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1650 GMT 31 Jan 80 OW]

ZHEJIANG POPULATION GROWTH--Ruian County, Zhejiang Province, has done a good job of promoting family planning. Over 20,000 people have had birth control operations. The county's natural population growth rate dropped 0.4 percent in 1979 from the previous year. [Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Feb 80 OW]

JIANGSU COLLEGE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES--The Nanjing Teachers College party committee held a meeting on 30 January to celebrate the resumption of activities by the college's democratic parties. Wu Yifang, honorary president of the Nanjing Teachers College, announced at the meeting the resumption of activities by the democratic party organizations. He read out the namelists of the leading members of the China Democratic League, the Jiu San Society, the China Democratic National Construction Association and the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. (Liang Gong), secretary of the college party committee, extended warm congratulations on behalf of the college party committee. [OW020315 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 31 Jan 80 OW]

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CHINA SERIAL REPORTS

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CHINA REPORT: Plant and Installation Data
CHINA REPORT: Political, Sociological and Military Affairs
CHINA REPORT: RED FLAG*
CHINA REPORT: Science and Technology

WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea
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